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A DEFENCE OF THE REFORMED CATHOLICKE of M. W. PERKINS,

lately deceased, against the bastard Counter-Catholicke of *D. Bishop, Seminary Priest.*

THE FIRST PART:

For answer to his calumniations generally framed against the same, and against the whole Religion and state of our Church, in his Epistle Dedicatory to the Kings most excellent Maiesty.

Wherein is to be seene the audaciousnesse and impudencie of these Romish brokers in their Supplications and Dedications to his Highnesse: their religion is dismasked of that antiquity which they pretend for it: the religion established in our Church by law is iustified to be no other but what was anciently receiued in the Church, and namely in the ancient Church of Rome.

By ROBERT ABBOT Doct. of Diuinitie.

August. de ciuit. Dei, lib. 2. cap. 1.

Eorum dicta contraria si toties refellere velimus, quoties obnixa fronte statuerunt non curare quid dicant dum quocunq; modo nostris disputationibus contradicant, infinitum esset.

LONDINI
Impensis GEORGII BISHOP.
1606.

DIEV ET MON DROIT

TO THE MOST PVISSANT AND MIGHTIE MONARCH *our most dread and soue-reigne Lord*, IAMES by the grace of GOD *King of* Great Britaine, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, &c.*

Mongst the manifolde benefits which the Diuine prouidence hath yeelded vnto vs by the happy entrance of your most sacred Maiestie to the Imperiall crowne of this Realme, we can not but most specially recognise that which we take to be the pillar that vpholdeth all the rest, The preseruation of true Religion and continuance of the preaching of the Gospel of Christ. Which albeit

it be a ſingular & ineſtimable mercy of God, yet there is found amongſt vs a Vipers brood, a male-contented Samaritan generation which neuer ceaſeth whining and repining thereat, accounting this bleſſing of God to vs, a great wrong to them, whileſt by a *cachexie* and corrupt diſpoſition of ſtomacke they better brooke *the Onions and Garleeke of Aegypt* than the *Manna* of heauen, *the bread of Angels*; and haue eares more delighted with the Mermaids notes and inchanting Muſicke of the whore of Babylon, than with the Plain-ſong of true religion directed by the ſimplicitie of the word of God. Therefore as in the dayes of our late moſt gracious Queene, (whoſe memorie God hath eternized both in heauen and earth) they neuer reſted working to bring this land againe vnder the ſlauery and bondage of the *man of ſinne:* ſo ſince your Maieſties comming to the Crowne they haue been ſtill plotting the ſame, not onely by attempting your Highneſſe ſubiects, but alſo labouring in their Petitions and Dedicatory Epiſtles to draw your Maieſtie one way or other to conſort with them in their damnable and accurſed deuices. And as Mountbanks do ſet forth baſe wares with magnificall and lofty words, ſo doe they with braue termes labour to grace a counterfeit and baſtard faith, and in their ſupplications haue vanted to your Maieſty of *a religion*, and neuer reſt to commend *a religion*, which indeed in the queſtioned part thereof is no other but a refined hereſie, compounded of ſundry ancient hereſies, onely clarified by *ſchoole-tricks*, from the more feculent and groſſe parts. Amongſt the reſt, one Doctour Biſhop a ſecular and ſeminary Prieſt, a man of ſpeciall reputation among them, and choſen

choſen to be a maine ſtickler in the late contentions of the ſeculars againſt the Ieſuits, hath taken vpon him to ſolicit your Maieſty in that behalfe, and hauing apprehended a ſpeech or two deliuered from your Maieſties owne mouth in the *Conference at Hampton Court*, would make you beleeue, that if you will ſtand to what your ſelfe haue deliuered, you muſt needs admit their *Catacatholicke* tradition to be the *Catholicke* and true faith. Whoſe Epiſtle to your Maieſtie, when I had peruſed and examined, (the anſwering of the whole booke being by Authoritie vnder your Maieſtie committed vnto me) I could not but woonder that the authour of it durſt offer it, being ſo full of falſhood and childiſh folly, to a Prince ſo learned and well able to iudge thereof; but that I conſidered, that one vntrueth muſt vpholde another, and he that hath vndertaken a bad cauſe muſt vſe worſe meanes for the mainteining of it. He chargeth the Religion eſtabliſhed and profeſſed by your Highneſſe with hereſies, impieties, blaſphemies, abſurdities, and what not, that malice and ignorance can deuiſe to ſpeake? And this is the common ſtile of the reſt of them, who when they come to proue and exemplifie what they ſpeake, they ſhew themſelues to be but Sycophants and hirelings to the Pope, for whoſe ſake they muſt ſpeake to gall and diſgrace, howſoeuer there be no truth in that they ſpeak. And if they dare thus impudently cary themſelues in Print, and to your Maieſtie, what dare they not ſay in corners to the entrapping and ſeducing of ſimple and vnlearned men? By which meanes many of your Maieſties ſubiects are intangled in a miſconſcience of religion, and thereby withdrawen from the true conſci-

ence

ence of their loyalty towards your Highneſſe their liege and ſouereigne Lord, and are made but flax and tow for the fire of their ſeditious practiſes, who haue beene bolde already to tell your Maieſty, That if you will not yeeld them what they deſire, *God knowes what that forcible weapon of neceſſitie will driue them vnto at length*: therein verifying of themſelues that which S. Auſtin ſayd of the Donatiſts their predeceſſours; *Where they can not by ſlie & wily couſinage creepe like aſpes, there with open profeſſed violence they rage like lions.* Some effect whereof your Maieſtie hath ſeene in that barbarous and Scythianlike attempt lately made for the deſtruction of your Higneſſe perſon and bloud, and perpetuall ſubuerſion and ouerthrow of the whole Realme. Which as it differeth from the practiſe of all ancient Chriſtians and Chriſtian Churches which vndoubtedly were of God, ſo it plainly declareth that that doctrine which profeſſeth not a lawfulneſſe only, but a merit in ſuch attempts, is vndoubtedly of the Diuell, and not of God. The broachers of which monſtrous and vnnaturall villanies, as they haue long time liued in exerciſe of that malice, ſo will ſtill make it appeare that they are not yet diſgorged of the poiſon of it. Whereof ſith they haue giuen ſo great argument and aſſurance by abuſing your Maieſties lenitie and patience towards them, when lawes might more ſeuerely haue proceeded againſt them; our prayer to God is, that your Maieſtie may henceforth take theſe things ſo farre to heart as ſhalbe needfull for the ſafety of your royall perſon, your poſterity and the Realme. As for vs, true it is, that our iealouſie ouer the ſoules of your ſubiects, and griefe to

Sect. 34. of D. Biſhops epiſtle.

Auguſt. in Pſal.

see them so seduced and beguiled, hath long made vs to say out of the Apostles affection, as he did of the false apostles, *Would to God they were euen cut off that trouble you*, being well assured that their aduantage gotten by your Maiesties patience towards them, would in the end be disaduantage to your selfe. But yet we could not but subscribe to your Maiesties most religious and Princely care, first to giue them instruction and satisfaction, to trie whether receiuing due answer to those things which to your Maiestie they haue alleaged, they would be reclamed from that headstrong presumption which hitherto so mightily hath possessed them. Wherein if they by their intolerable treacheries haue altered your Maiesties intent of fauour vnto them, and the State conceiue iust cause with all seueritie and rigour to proceed immediatly against them, the guilt lieth vpon themselues, and they must confesse that they themselues haue drawen the sword to be imbrued in their owne bloud. Yet the course by your Highnesse intended hath still most necessary vse for the discouering of the impudencie of these Petitioners, for the gaining of such as may be gained to the acknowledgement of Gods trueth, and that as S. Bernard sayth, *Though the heretick arise not from his filth, yet the Church may be confirmed in the faith.* To a part of which businesse since it hath pleased them to whom your Maiestie hath committed the care thereof to call me the meanest of many other, albeit by reason of some infirmity in mine eyes I haue not yet beene able to performe the whole that was assigned vnto me, yet for the time to giue some part of satisfaction to many of your Maiesties subiects, whom it

Galat. 5. 12.

Bernard. in Cant.

it hath much mooued to see the state of our Church with calumnious libels so traduced & slandred, I haue published this answer to Doct. Bishops Epistle, therein carying my selfe faithfully and vprightly, as to God and my Prince, though my abilitie not such as that I may thinke my selfe to haue attained to that that the matter doth require. But that which my small talent will yeeld, in all humble duety I tender to your Maiesties most gracious and Princely fauour, hoping that your Highnesse acceptation of these endeuours shall stirre vp those that are of greater gifts to yeeld greater helpes for the vpholding and further building of the Church of Christ. The Lord preserue your most excellent Maiesty, and as he hath hitherto done, so continue still to discouer and bring to nought the deuices and counsels of them that imagine euill against you; and as of his infinite mercy he hath implanted in your Maiestie the knowledge and loue of his true religion, so goe forward with his good worke, to water that which he hath planted, that it may bring foorth plentifull fruit to the publicke aduancement of the glory of God, and the priuate comfort of your owne soule at the day of Iesus Christ.

Your Maiesties most loyall

and dutifull subiect

ROB. ABBOT.

To The Christian Reader.

Let it be no offence vnto thee, good Christian Reader, that for the present I giue thee an answer to a Dedicatory Epistle in stead of an answer to a whole booke. It was now in Ianuarie last a full yeere since Doctor Bishops booke was sent vnto me by the most reuerend Father in God the L. Archbishop of Canturburie his Grace, my very good Lord, with direction to vse the best expedition that I could for the answer of it. It found me at that time vnder the Surgeans hands for a grieuous infirmitie in mine eies; by meanes whereof for some good space, and indeed longer than I expected, I was hindred from ablenesse to intend in any conuenient sort to any such important worke. But taking the soonest and best opportunity that I could, after that I had gone ouer some good part of the booke, to furnish my selfe with such matter as should serue for confutation of it; at length about the beginning of Iulie being desirous to bring

somewhat to effect, I addressed my selfe with all instant indeuour to giue answer to his Epistle Dedicatorie to the Kings most excellent Maiestie. Which as I accounted the principall matter in the booke, so I held it my duetie to vse very speciall care for the repulsing of those calumnies and slanders which the Authour hath gathered and contriued into it. Which being finished at Michaelmas, hath beene since thought fit to be published for the time, till the rest of the worke, wherein as time hath serued I haue hitherto further proceeded, may fully be performed. Now the Treatise against which M. Bishop writeth is commonly knowen, entituled, A reformed Catholicke, *&c. written by one M. Perkins, since deceased, a man of very commendable qualitie and well deseruing for his great trauell and paines for the furtherance of true religion and edifying of the Church. Against this booke M. Bishop so bendeth himselfe in his Dedicatorie Epistle, as that withall he traduceth the whole doctrine of our church, and with such motiues and reasons as a bad cause will affoord him, plaieth the part of Symmachus the Pagan, labouring vnder the name of Antiquity to bring in Idolatrie, and to perswade his Maiestie, that that is* Catholicke religion, *which indeed is nothing els but error & superstition. In the due examination whereof, weighing well the sandie and slipperie foundations whereupon he buildeth, I presume, gentle Reader, that thou wilt be of my minde, That he did not thinke heereby to preuaile any whit with his most excellent Maiestie, but only vsed the pretense of this Dedication to credit his booke with them who he knew would take*

Symmach. Relat. ad Imperat. Ambrof. epist. lib. 5.

all

all that he sayd hand ouer head vpon his owne bare word. Surely if he had not presumed of very welwilling and friendly Readers, he would neuer haue dreamed to gaine any credit by writing in this sort. What his Epistle is, thou mayest here see; concerning the rest as yet I will not say much; only I aduertise thee and do assure thee, that if thou didst like of M. Perkins booke before, thou hast no cause by M. Bishop to dislike it now. Thou shalt see it assaulted with ignorance, with impudency, with vntruth and falshood, with grosse and palpable heresie, and that which he commendeth to thee for the marrow and pith of many large volumes, *thou shalt finde to be nothing els but a fardle of baggage and rotten stuffe. For some taste whereof let me intreat thee to take well in worth for the time this answer to his Epistle; and for the rest to haue me excused as yet, both in respect of that weakenesse whereby I haue beene so much withholden from the following of this worke, as also for the care that I haue aswell to giue thee full satisfaction in the questions here discussed, as to stop the aduersaries mouth, that he may haue nothing further to reply. I haue propounded to my selfe the rule of Tertullian, in such businesses alwayes to be obserued;* Decet veritatem totis vti viribus suis, non vt laborantem: Truth is to vse it whole strength, and not to fare as if it had much adoe to defend it selfe. *I am loth therefore to come hastily into the field, and with mine owne sword onely to make an vncertaine fight, but to take conuenient time to leuie such troups and bands, as that I may not need to doubt of the victory, and it may appeare vnto thee that notwithstan-*

In his Preface to the Reader.

Tertul. adu. Marc. lib. 3.

ding the crakes and brags of these Romish sycophants, 2. King. 6. 16. *yet the truth is, that* they that are with vs are mo than they that are with them. *In the meane time let it not trouble thee that they are still writing of bookes; for their books are nothing els in trueth but the laying together of the rubbish of those walles which by vs haue already been broken downe, or at the most but supports & props to stay them a while from falling, which otherwise are so battered as that they seem vnlikely to stand long. Some men stagger and are much moued thereat, because being in the darke and their sight not well seruing them, they thinke euery scar-crow to be a man of warre; but sober and aduised iudgement will easily conceiue that they who hitherto haue neuer beene able to keepe the field, are very vnlikely now to haue any meanes left to gaine the battell. They breake out sometimes by ambush to cut off whom they can from vs, but when they are once discouered, they are gone. And this thou shalt see, if God will, in the examining of that Pamphlet of Doct. Bishop: only for that that is yet behinde giue me for a while thy gentle patience, remembring what Origen sayth:* Wounds are quickly giuen, but cure will aske a longer time: *albeit I presume that, my infirmity considered, I shal not be so long in giuing thee the answer as he was in writing the booke. I haue prepared already for the most part* subtegmen & licia, both woofe and warpe, *as Hierome speaketh; yeeld me thy prayer to God to continue my strength, and to prosper me in his worke, and I will endeuour to the vttermost of my power speedily to yeeld thee a perfect web.*

Origen in Ezechiel.

Hier. ad Miner.

The ſpeciall contents of this Booke.

OF the name of CATHOLICKE CHVRCH AND CATHOLICKS vſurped now by the Papiſts, as of old by the Donatiſts; and that the religion now profeſſed in the church of Rome is not the CATHOLICKE and APOSTOLICKE faith. ſect. 3.

That the Church of Rome that now is doth in very many articles of faith and religion croſſe the ancient church of Rome, and maintaineth diuers hereſies by the ſame anciently condemned. ſect. 4.

That we are iuſtified by faith only, and yet holineſſe of life is neceſſary to ſaluation. ſect. 5. and that imputation of righteouſneſſe alwayes implieth regeneration and holineſſe begunne, though not perfect. ſect. 17.

That our doctrine of free will condemneth both the Manichees and Pelagian hereticks, and is the ſame with the doctrine of the firſt church. ſect. 6.

That the aſſertion of ſinne remaining after baptiſme imputed by M. Biſhop to Proclus the hereticke was the Catholicke doctrine of Methodius biſhop of Tyrus, and is the very trueth according to the doctrine of the ancient church. ſect. 7. 17.

That virginity and mariage in themſelues are equall, with God: that the preferment of ſingle life is only in the vſe of it, and that the doctrine of Iouinian concerning that point was no other but what the church of Rome profeſſed both before the time of Hierome and Iouinian, and at that very time. ſect. 8. 18. 24.

That our doctrine concerning faſting is iuſtified by the ancient church of Rome. ſect. 4. 8. 18.

That prayer to ſaints and worſhipping their reliques is contrary to the ancient religion: the latter iuſtly reproued by Vigilantius, and not auouched by Hierome. ſect. 9. and that without offence we giue them ſometimes the name of Dead men. ſect. 15.

That the church at firſt did not pray for the dead at all, and in what meaning it was afterwards taken vp; Purgatory, vpon which the Papiſts build it, being altogether vnknowen. ſect. 10. 16. 16.

That Traditions vnwritten as touching the ſubſtance of faith are condemned by the ancient church. ſect. 11.

That

That the worshipping of images is heathenish and heretical by the doctrine of the ancient Church, and that the Papists thereby are Idolaters. sect. 12. 32.

That apostasie groweth by stealth: with the noting of the originall of diuers Popish heresies. sect. 13.

Of diuers damnable and wicked positions & doctrines of the church of Rome. sect. 14. See the like as touching the Scriptures. sect. 11. and for inducement of treason against Princes sect. 32.

That the Church of England neither maketh God the authour of sinne nor chargeth Christ in his passion with despaire or doubt. sect. 14.

Of giuing a mans goods to the poore, that he may giue himselfe wholly to prayer and fasting, and that the Papists haue borowed their doctrine thereof from the Massalian hereticks. sect. 18.

Of the impossibility of perfect fulfilling the Law, and the imperfection of good works, auouched out of the doctrine of the ancient Church, and of M. Bishops silly and childish collections made thereof. sect. 19. 20.

That Constantine the Emperour was no Papist. sect. 21.

Of the signe of the Crosse, and that the Church of England hath taken that course as touching the same, as is fittest both to iustifie Constantine and the ancient Church in the vse, and condemne the Papists in the abuse of it. sect. 22.

How Churches were built by Constantine, and are by vs named to the honour of the Apostles. sect. 25.

That the sacrifice of the Masse and Transubstantiation were vnknowen to Constantine and the ancient Church. sect. 27. 32.

That Constantine was not acquainted with Popish absolution and forgiuenesse of sinnes. sect. 28.

That Constantine exercised supreme authority and iurisdiction ouer Bishops and in causes of the Church. sect. 29.

That Archbishopricks, and Bishopricks, and Church-liuings, were not first founded for Popery, but for the religion now established, and whatsoeuer since hath beene added by Popery, is iustly imployed to the maintenance of our religion. sect. 31. 36.

That Recusants haue no iust exception against comming to church, and that iustly the law proceedeth against them according to the examples of the lawes of ancient Princes, and of the good that commeth thereof, and that the toleration of them were neither godly, nor safe, nor standing with Christian mercy. sect. 32. 33. 35. 37.

Of M Bishops threat to his Maiesty grounded vpon a practise of Poperie quite contrary to the practise of the ancient Church, sect 34.

A VIEW OF M. BISHOPS EPISTLE

Dedicatory to the Kings most excellent *Maiesty.*

TO THE MOST PVISSANT, Prudent and renowmed Prince, IAMES *the first, by the grace of God, King of* England, Scotland, France and Ireland, *Defender of the* Faith, &c.

MOst gratious and dread Soueraigne. Albeit, my slender skill cannot affoord any discourse woorthy the view of your Excellency, neither my deadded, and daily interrupted, and persecuted studies, will giue me leaue to accomplish that little, which otherwise I might vndertake and performe: Yet being emboldened, both by your high Clemency, and Gratious fauour, euer shewed vnto all good litterature, especially concerning Diuinitie: and also vrged by mine owne bounden dutie, and particular affection: I presume to pre-

sent vnto your Highnesse this short ensuing treatise. For your exceeding clemencie, mildenesse, and rare modestie, in the most eminent estate of so mightie a Monarch: as it cannot but win vnto you great loue, in the harts of all considerate Subiects: so on the other side doth it encourage them cõsidently to open their mindes, and in dutifull manner to vnfold themselues vnto their so louing and affable a Soueraigne. And whereas (to the no vulgar praise of your Maiesties pietiẽ) you haue made open and often profession of your vigilancie and care, to aduaunce the diuine honour of our Sauiour Christ, and his most sacred Religion: Then what faithfull Christian should stagger, or feare to lay open, and deliuer publikely, that which he assureth himselfe to be very expedient, necessarie, and agreeable towards the furnishing, and setting forward of so heauenly a worke? Moreouer, if I your Maiesties poore subiect, haue by studie at home, and trauaile abroad, attained vnto any small talent of learning, and knowledge: to whom is the vse and fruit thereof more due, then vnto my so gratious, and withall, so learned a Liege? Finally, for a proofe of my sincerity, affection, and dutifull loue towards your Maiestie, this may I iustly say, that in time of vncertaine fortune (when assured friends are most certainly tried) I both suffered disgrace, and hinderance for it, being stiled in Print, A Scotist in faction: *therein farther employing my penne in* A two-fold discourse *(which I hope hath beene presented to the view of your Maiestie) the one conteyning a defence of your Highnesse honour: the other of your title, and interest of the crowne of England. And if then my zeale and loue of truth, and obligation to your Maiestie, drew me out of the compasse of mine owne profession, to treat of law courses: I trust your benigne Grace will now licence me, out of the same fountaine of feruencie and like zeale vnto Gods truth, no lesse respecting your Maiesties eternall honour, and heauenly inheritance, something to say in matters of Diuinitie: hauing beene the best part of my studie, for more then thrise seauen yeeres.*

R. Abbot.

R. ABBOT.

IT were a thing worthy to be known what was the drift of M. Bishop, and the marke whereat he aimed in the Dedication of this his Booke to the kings Highnesse. When I looke to those goodly insinuations whereby he seemeth desirous to winde himselfe into the good opinion of his most excellent Maiestie, and consider the motiues and reasons which he pleadeth meerely for himselfe and the rest of his faction and conspiracie, me thinkes his intent should be according to his pretence, to gaine some fauour at his Maiesties handes for toleration of Romish idolatrie and superstition, that without contradiction of lawes they may freely, if not exercise, yet professe and follow the same. But when on the otherside I consider his exceptions and allegations against his Maiesties proceedings, and against the Gospell of Christ and his true religion embraced by his Maiestie, and by lawes publikely established amongst vs, I grow to another conceit, that surely he propounded some other matter to himselfe then the obteining of that which he seemeth so earnestly to entreat for. For hauing to doe with a iudicious and learned Prince, who is well able, God be thanked, rightly to censure what he writeth, without doubt if he had made this his proiect to compasse the obteining of his request, he would haue dealt sincerely and faithfully; he would haue forborne our church all vniust and slaunderous imputations: he would not haue sought by apparant vntruth and falshood to iustifie his bad cause; he would haue had care so to cary himselfe that his Maiestie seeing nothing but true and plaine dealing might conceiue what is amisse to haue proceeded onely from simplicitie of errour, not from any ob-

stinate and wilfull malice against the truth. But he hath taken a farre other course, and seeketh very lewdly by lies and tales to abuse the kinges most excellent Maiestie, by pretending antiquitie for those things which by antiquitie were condemned: by fathering their owne bastards vpon the Fathers, by wresting and forcing their sayings to that which they neuer thought, yea when sometimes in the verie places which he alleageth they haue taught the contrarie to that that he would approoue by them; by depraying our religion with odious consequences of heresies, impieties, blasphemies; whereof notwithstanding I make no doubt but he himselfe in his own cõscience doth acquit vs. Whereby it may seeme that howsoeuer he were willing to put his request to the aduenture, yet being himself without all hope or opinion of successe in it, his speciall respect was to lengthen the expectation of his Catacatholicke followers, that they might not vtterly despaire of that with the hope whereof they haue so long deluded them; to settle them in those heresies and irreligions whereto they haue so long inured them; to continue them prest and readie to those intents and purposes whereto they thinke they may hereafter haue occasion to vse them; to prouide by these meanes with [a] *Demetrius* that his and his fellowes craft and occupation might be maintained which was now in ieopardy to grow vtterly to decay; and lastly to adde some grace to his booke the better to serue all these turns whilest it should carie the name to be dedicated to the king: no man imagining, the case standing as it doth, that he would presume to offer it to his Maiestie but that doubtlesse he thought some exploit to be performed by him therein.

[a] *Act.19.25.*

And that he thought so indeed, appeareth by his owne wordes in the Preface to the Reader, commending this treatise vnto him vnder these termes, that *he shall find herein the marow and pith of many large volumes contracted and drawen into a narrow roome.* By his owne conceit therefore he

he hath sent vs the strength of their strength, the choise of their learning, the flowre of their arguments; so that this booke is as it were a *Goliah* out of the host of the Philistims sent to defie the host of Israel, and to require a concombatant at one fight to trie the matter, presuming that in all Israel is not a man to be found that dare vndertake to answer the chalenge. Whereby appeareth that it is but for fashion sake that he speaketh so modestly in the beginning of his epistle, excusing his slender skill, and complaining that his *dead and daily interrupted and persecuted studies will not giue him leaue to accomplish that little which otherwise he might vndertake and performe.* Surely he neither wanted skill nor leisure, as it seemeth, that could thus gather the marow and pith of so many large volumes. As for his studies, if he will confesse the trueth, he must acknowledge that they haue beene more *interrupted* by their contentions with the Iesuites, then *persecuted* by vs: albeit great reason it is that he and his fellowes should be persecuted, if he will so terme it, by restraint of body, that abuse their liberty when they are abroad to the persecuting and destroying of other mens soules, withdrawing them from the seruice of Iesus Christ, and by their illusions and inchantments bewitching them to doate vpon Antichrist, extinguishing in them the true conscience of allegeance to their Prince, and preparing them to the execution of their seditious and traiterous designments, as hath in some part appeared to his Maiestie already, and I doubt not but some further experience will make it yet further to appeare.

Now it is well in the meane time that he acknowledgeth in his Maiestie *exceeding clemencie, mildenesse, modestie, louing and affable* disposition, singular ornaments of a prince and wherein is speciall token of a king whom [b] *the Lord hath chosen.* But his threatning words towards the end of this epistle doe presage that heereafter they will alter this stile, and cry out, as they did in the daies of our most noble Queene deceased, of cruelty, tyrannie, extremitie,

[b] *Psal.* 4. 3. חסיד *good, curteous, bounteous, kinde, mercifull, louing.*

mitie, of persecutions and martyrdomes, when by their disloiall and seditious courses they shall draw from his Maiestie greater seueritie and sharpenesse of executions then his princely nature is of it selfe inclined vnto. Then shall this acknowledgement of his be an vpbraiding of them that they themselues haue made the rod wherewith they are scourged: that his Maiestie hath beene kinde and louing to them, but they haue beene vnkinde and cruell to themselues. But this clemency and kindnesse, albeit it be an encouragement to good and faithfull subiects in dutifull manner to vnfold vnto his Maiestie their iust greeuances and requests, yet ought it not to embolden euill affected persons with calumnious libels to interrupt the peaceable course of his Maiesties gouernment, and to seeke according to their drunken humours and fancies the alteration of the state and admittance of those things, the building whereof they themselues know not how to settle vpon any sure ground. And this is the thing that M. *Bishop* labours for, seeking with *Elymas* the sorcerer [c] to *peruert the streight waies of the Lord:* and whereas his Maiestie as he confesseth, *hath made open and often profession of his vigilancie and care to aduaunce the diuine honour of our Sauiour Christ and his most sacred religion*, he would insteed thereof draw him to aduaunce the idoll [d] *Mauzzim* the god of Antichrist, and to establish [e] *damnable heresies* by him *priuily brought in*, whereby his agents and factours [f] *through couetousnesse with fained wordes doe make marchandise of the soules of men*, [g] *speaking things which they ought not for filthy lucres sake*. And this he doth vnder a colour of *deliuering what he assureth himselfe to be very expedient, necessarie and agreable towards the furnishing and setting forward of so heauenly a worke* by his Maiesty intended. But it is not inough that he assure himselfe, vnlesse he could by good ground assure his Maiestie also of that which he laboureth to perswade, which he hath not done nor indeed can do: & therfore as touching his furnishing and setting forward of this worke

[c] *Act.* 13. 10.
[d] *Dan.* 11. 38.
[e] *2. Pet.* 2. 1.
[f] *vers.* 3.
[g] *Tit.* 1. 11.

worke we answer him as the princes and fathers of *Iudah* & *Beniamin* answered their vndermining aduersaries: [h] *It is not for you but for vs to build the house vnto our God.* You Samaritans, you Papists are mungrels taking vpon you to [i] *feare the Lord,* and yet *serving idols also*; neglecting the ordinances and commandements of the Lord by which this house is to be builded, and doating vpon your [k] *old custome,* and therefore [l] *having no portion nor right nor memoriall in Ierusalem* nor in this heauenly worke and seruice of Iesus Christ. Indeed it is true which he saith, that whatsoeuer *talent of learning or knowledge he hath attained vnto,* the *vse and fruit thereof is due* to his Maiestie; but the greater is his sinne to withdraw it from him to whom it is due, being so farre engaged to the Pope as that his Maiestie cannot presume of any true and faithfull vse thereof. As for the proofe that he alleageth of his sincere and dutifull affection and loue, it is altogether vnsound. And to this purpose I may well demaund as did *Constantius* the Emperour the father of the great *Constantine:* [m] *How should they be deemed faithfull vnto their prince, who are found to be perfidious and vnfaithfull towards God?* It appeareth by that secret that he vttereth in this epistle towards the end, that his loue is according to the rule of *Bias,* if at least it were his, [n] *sic ama tanquam aliquando osurus: Loue so as being perhaps in time to hate.* Certaine it is, whatsoeuer he pretendeth, that neither he nor his euer meant his Maiestie any good, vnlesse they could gaine him to be that that they would haue him to be. But what is that proofe of his sinceritie that he alleageth? forsooth *in time of vncertaine fortune, when,* he saith, *assured friends are most certainly tried, he both suffered disgrace and hinderance for his loue towards his Maiestie, being stiled in print, A Scotist in faction.* Where we see that *a false merchant needeth no broker.* How cunningly he gloseth the matter to make shew of great loue where indeed there was none at all. What? was it for his Maiesties cause that those hard fortunes, that disgrace and hinderance

[h] *Ezra* 4.3.
[i] 2. *King.*17 41.
[k] *verse.* 34. & 40.
[l] *Nehem.*2.20.
[m] *Euseb. de vita Const. l.*1. *c.*11.
[n] *Tulli. de amicitia.*

hinderance did befall him? Nothing lesse. The Iesuites forsooth and the Secular priests, whilest each seeke superiority ouer other, fall together by the eares. The Iesuites procure an Archpriest, one that should be at their deuotion, to be set ouer the Seculars. The Seculars refuse to yeeld him subiection and by appeale refer the matter to the Pope. For the prosecuting of this appeale M. *Bishop* with another of his company are sent to Rome. There by the procurement of *Parsons* both he and his fellow are clapped vp in prison; and continuing there for many weekes were at length by the sentence of their Protectour banished England, and the one of them confined to Lorraine, and the other to Fraunce. This is the maine tragedy of M. *Bishops* misfortunes, not concerning the cause of the kings Maiestie any whit at all. Onely in the managing of these matters it came to passe according to the prouerbe, that *when theeues fall out, true men come by their goods.* For whilest each part sought to prouide the better for themselues heere in England for the time to come, the Iesuits for their aduancement laboured to entitle the Lady *Infanta* of Spaine to the succession of the crowne of England. But the Seculars presuming that if the *Infanta* were set vp, they must certainly go downe, and chusing rather to aduenture themselues vpon vncertaine hope, then to giue way to vndoubted and certaine despaire, shrowded themselues vnder the acknowledgement of his Maiesties iust title, not for any loue to his Maiestie, but for hatred to the Iesuits, and for the preferment of themselues. For imagining that things vpon the death of Queene Elizabeth would grow troublesome, and intending to make offer to his Maiestie of their helpe forsooth for the obteining of the crowne, they thought by capitulations and conditions, his Maiestie preuailing, to make all sure for their part, thinking that the Iesuits by their traiterous practises had set a sufficient barre against themselues, and should be no let vnto them. Heereupon they fall to writing one against another,

another, and M. Bishop is stiled in print *A Scotist in faction*, and to picke a thanke with his Maiestie, writeth his *twofould discourse, one for defence of his Highnesse honour, the other of his title to the crowne of England.* A worke of supererogation for his part: for his Maiestie needed no such proctours as he is, neither was the wrangling of a companie of base fugitiues sufficient to question either his Maiesties honour, or his title to the crowne. And how little hold there was in these his defenses may appeare by the examples of his fellowes, Watson and Clerke, who tooke part with him in this action, and the one of them wrote as much in the kings defence as M. Bishop did, and yet when they saw vpon his Maiesties entrance that things were likely to goe otherwise then liked them, immediately they fall to conspiring and plotting against him: the case was altered: they were not now the men that they were before. The like is M. Bishops fidelitie & loue, and he himselfe afterwards plainly giueth his Maiestie to vnderstand that he may hope no otherwise of him then he hath already found in them. Yet heere he presumeth that sith *his zeale and loue to his Maiestie hath heeretofore drawen him without the compasse of his profession to treat of law courses*; therefore *his Grace will licence him out of the like zeale vnto gods truth, to say something in matters of Diuinitie.* But surely if he by his law courses defended his Maiesties cause no better then by Diuinitie he hath defended his owne, he might very well haue spared that labour, and left it to them that were fit to doe it if occasion had required, which indeed he was not. But this is the malepartnesse and sawcinesse of these base vassals and runnagates both Iesuites and Seculars to thrust themselues into matters that belong not to their profession or condition; they are tampering with causes of kingdomes and states; they will determine of titles and inheritances of crownes and scepters. This is their arrogancie and presumption assuming vnto themselues as if they were able for all things: al their geese

be swannes; not an asse amongst them but is woorthy to stand with the kings horses: not one of them I warrant you but is sufficient enough to be a Counsellour to a Prince. They are the onely high spirited men, of great conceit, of deepe reach, of noble resolution, of most special and secret intelligence, of braue discourse, that can tell great tales of *Bombomachides Clunystaridysarchides* the great *Gurgustidonian emperour*; euen like Narcissus, so farre in loue with themselues that they are drowned in their owne pride. But we know them well enough: we see their foolerie and laugh at it: when they come to triall they are for the most part but emptie barrels; all this great noise prooueth in a manner nothing but meere winde. Onely we are sorie for that as the heretikes of old by [o] strange deuised words and names stupefied and amazed simple and ignorant people, and by that meanes gathering to themselues great admiration, drew many to their heresies; so these seducers with bold faces and big lookes, and brauadoes of prating and cogging doe make seely soules, vnstable fooles, but specially women to admire them and grow in loue with them, so to be caried by them blindfolded to their owne destruction. But heere we are much to obserue that by law courses onely M. Bishop defended his Maiesties title to the crowne; by Diuinitie he could say nothing, for his master Bellarmine had taught him that it is but [p] *de iure humano quòd hunc aut illum habeamus regem: it is but by the law of man that we haue this or that man to be our king*, and therefore, as he argueth, because the law of God is to be preferred before the law of man, he that by the law of man is to be king, vnlesse he will be a mainteiner of popish religion, a vassall & slaue to the Pope, by the law of God he must be no king. This is M. Bishops Diuinitie, & by this Diuinitie his Maiestie must haue been ordered, if (for our iudgement) God had suffered him to fal into their hands. As touching his Diuinity otherwise which he saith hath bin the best part of his study

more

[o] *Hieron. epist. ad Theodoram. August. de haeres. 6.*

[p] *Bellarm. de Rom. Pontif. li. 5. cap. 7.*

more then thrise seuen yeeres, how well he hath profited therein, we shall see by examining the particulars of this booke.

2. W. Bishop.

Whereinto I may conueniently enter with that golden sentence, with which your Maiestie began the Conference, holden in Ianuary last, betweene certaine of your subiects, about some controuersie in Religion: A Ioue principium: *or conformable to that in holy write,* I am Alpha, and Omega, *that is,* The beginning and the end, *saith our Lord: And applying it vnto Princes, I may be bold to say, that nothing is more expedient and necessary for Kings, nothing more honourable, and of better assurance for their estate, then that in the very beginning of their raigne, they take especiall order, that the supreame, and most puissant Monarch of heauen and earth, be purely, and vprightly serued, aswell in their owne examplare liues, as throughout their dominions. For of Almightie God his meere bountie and great grace, they receiue and hold their Diadems and Princely Scepters: and cannot possesse and enioy them (their mightie Forces, and most prudent Counsailes notwithstanding) one day longer, then during his diuine will and pleasure. Which that wise king witnesseth, speaking in the person of Gods wisedome,* Per me Reges regnant. *By me Kings doe raigne. And* Nabuchodonozer *sometime king of Babylon, was turned out to grasse with beasts, for seuen yeeres, and made to know and confesse, that the highest doth command ouer the kingdomes of men, and disposeth of them, as pleaseth his diuine wisedome. But I need not stand vpon this point, being so well knowen, and duely confessed by your Maiestie.*

Apoc. cap. 1. 8.

Prouerb. 4.

Dan. 4.

R. Abbot.

Plutarch reporteth that [a] the nobles of Lacedemon approouing a speech that was deliuered by a man of euill behauiour, caused the same to be vttered by another

[a] *Plutarch. de Auditione.*

of honest life and conuersation, that it might carie the greater weight when it proceeded from a man whose doings otherwise were answerable to his words. M. Bishop hath here vttered a very good speech, but it soundeth not effectually from his mouth or pen; it were fit that some other man of other profession and comportment should be the writer or speaker of this matter, for he denieth to his Maiestie that supreme gouernment in causes ecclesiastical whereby he should take vpon him to doe that that he perswadeth him, and being sworne to the Pope he cannot but mainteine those lawes of his, whereby he inhibiteth [b] kings and princes to meddle with matters of religion and of the church, and reserueth the same wholy to be ordered by himselfe and his prelates, and as for princes they must receiue and practise the same according to his order. As touching the reason also that he alleageth why princes should take especiall order that God be purely and vprightly serued, *because of his meere bountie and grace they receiue and hold their diadems and princely scepters*, the Pope denieth that they hold the same immediately from God, but are to receiue them by his mediation and approbation, and no longer to hold them then they conform themselues to his lawes: [c] *Ecce nos constituti sumus super gentes & regna, &c. Behold*, saith the Pope, *we are set ouer nations and kingdomes, to build vp and to plant, to pull vp and to destroy, &c.* and therefore what the *Wisedome* of God saith as M. Bishop alleageth, [d] *By me kings reigne*, the same the Pope blasphemously applieth to himselfe: [e] *Per me reges regnant: By me kings do reigne.* Thus the Pope would haue Princes as very beasts as Nabuchodonosor was, not to know of whom they hold their crownes and kingdomes, but to thinke that all dependeth vpon him. But M. Bishop heere acknowledgeth the truth that of God they hold the same, and therefore should make it their speciall care that the same God be honoured accordingly. And heere vnawares he iustifieth our doctrine as touching the Princes supreme

[b] *Dist. 96. si imperator.*

[c] *Bulla Pij. 5. & de maior. & obed. cap. Vnam sanctam.*

[d] *Prou. 8. 15.*

[e] *Ceremon. eccle. Rom. li. 1. cap. 2.*

ſupreme authoritie for the gouernment of our church, the effect whereof we teach to be this, to prouide by lawes and to take eſpeciall order that God be purely and vprightly ſerued; that idolatrie and ſuperſtition be remooued; that the word of God be truely and ſincerely taught; that the Sacraments be duely adminiſtred; that the Biſhops and Paſtours diligently performe the ſeruice and duety that doth appertaine vnto them, that the commandements of God be not publikely and ſcandalouſly broken. For theſe things we acknowledge the king to be vnder Chriſt the *ſupreme gouernour* of the churches within the dominions that are ſubiect vnto him, and this duetie M. Biſhop confeſſeth to appertaine vnto him. And thus did the good kings of Iudah, Dauid, Ezechias, Ioſias, &c. Thus haue Chriſtian emperours and princes done: thus and no otherwiſe did Queene Elizabeth; and yet for the doing heereof ſhe was proſcribed by the Pope, and ſo much as in him lay depriued of her crowne and ſcepter. But the good hand of that God whom ſhe ſerued was continually with her, and ſhe proſpered thereby: whileſt he that was the beginner of that tragedie and diuers other his ſucceſſours and confederates went to hell ſhee reigned with victorie and glory: ſhee was a terrour to the nations about her: ſhee died in peace, was buried in honour; left her kingdome ſafely to be entred and enioyed by his Maieſtie, and herſelfe now reigneth in heauen triumphantly for euer. In the ſame ſteps his Maieſtie walketh; and the ſame God will be his guid and defence, and we doubt not but will more and more eſtabliſh the throne of his kingdome to himſelfe and to his roiall poſteritie vntill the day of Chriſt, that that Samaritan generation may gnaw their tongues for anger and enuie to ſee the walles of Ieruſalem aſcending, and the temple of God builded vp and his true religion and ſeruice flouriſhing and increaſing more and more.

3. W. Bishop.

But sithence there be in this our most miserable age, great diuersities of Religions, and but one onely, wherewith God is truely serued and pleased, as saith the Apostle. One bodie, one Spirit, as you are called into one hope of your vocation, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptisme: *My most humble suite and supplication to your high Maiestie is, that you to your eternall good, will embrace, maintaine, and set foorth that onely true, Catholike, and Apostolike faith, wherein all your most roiall progenitors liued and died: or if you cannot be wonne so soone, to alter that religion in which it hath beene your misfortune, to haue beene bred and brought vp: That then in the meane season, you will not so heauily persecute, the sincere professors of the other.*

Ephes. 4.

R. Abbot.

Here

How M. Bishop propoundeth briefely to his maiesty the sum of his petition, the foundation whereof he laieth in a principle which we acknowledge to be a truth, that whereas there be great diuersities of religions in the world, there is but *one only wherewith God is truely serued.* Herevpon he frameth his humble suite and supplication that his maiestie *will embrace, maintaine and set foorth that onlie true, Catholicke and Apostolicke faith.* But that needeth no suite nor supplication of his: for his maiestie alreadie doth embrace, maintaine and set foorth that one only true, Catholicke and Apostolicke faith. For what is the *Catholicke faith* but the faith of the *Catholicke church?* And which then shall we take to be the *Catholicke church?* Surely the *Catholicke church* by the very signification of the word is the *vniuersall church*, so called [a] *quia per totum est, because it is ouer all or through all the world*, and is not tied to anie countrie, place, person or condition of men, [b] *not this church*

[a] *August. de vnit. eccles. c. 2. Athanas. quæst. 81.*
[b] *August. in Psal. 56.*

church or that church, as Saint Austen speaketh, but *the church dispersed through the whole world, and not that which consisteth in men now presently liuing, but so as that there belong to it both those that haue beene before vs and that shalbe after vs to the worldes end.* Whereby we see how absurdly the church of Rome taketh vnto it the name of the *Catholicke church*, and how absurdly the Papistes take vnto them the name of Catholickes. The Catholicke church is the vniuersal church; the church of Rome is a particular church: therefore to saie, *the Catholicke Romane church* is all one as to say the vniuersall particular church. To speake by their rule, the Romane church is the head, and all other churches are members vnto it, but the *Catholicke church* comprehendeth all: therefore to saie the Romane church is the Catholicke church, is as much as to say, the head is the whole body. Neither doth it helpe them, that of old particular churches were called by the name of *Catholicke church*, it being no otherewise done but as *in toto similari, in a body where all the parts are of the same nature*, where euery part hath the name of the whole, and no one part can chalenge the same more then any other, as in the elements euery part of the fire is fire; euery part of the water water; euery part of the earth is earth, and euery part by like reason carrying the same name. For so euery church where true faith was taught was called to distinguish it from heretical assemblies. The [c] Catholicke church, and euerie Bishop of such church was called a Bishop of the Catholicke church, and no one church more then other assumed vnto it any prerogatiue of that title. Therefore they called the *Catholicke faith* the faith that was receiued by the church throughout the whole world, and true Christians were called *Catholikes*, [d] *ex communione totius orbis*; *by hauing communion and fellowship of faith with the church of the whole world.* It is therefore a meere vsurpation, whereby the Papistes call the Romane church *the Catholicke church*, and the very same that the Donatistes of old did vse.

[c] *Cont. epist. fundam. ca. 4.*

[d] *August. epist. 48.*

vse. They held the *Catholicke church* to be at [c] *Cartenna* in Africa, and the Papistes hold it to be at Rome in Italie. They would haue the church to be called *Catholicke*, not by reason of the communion and society thereof through the whole world, but [f] *by reason of the perfection of doctrine & sacraments*, which they falsely challenged to themselues; and the same perfection the church of Rome now arrogateth to it selfe and will therefore be called the Catholicke church. From Cartenna the Donatistes ordeined Bishops to other countries, euen [g] to Rome it selfe; and from Rome by the Papistes order must bishops be authorised to all other churches. They would be taken to be [h] Catholickes for keeping communion with the church of Cartenna; and so the Papists will be accounted Catholickes for keeping communion with the church of Rome. They held that [i] howsoeuer a man beleeued he could not be saued vnlesse he did communicate with the church at Cartenna; and the Papistes hold that there is no saluation likewise but in communicating with the church of Rome. The Donatistes were not so absurd in the one, but the Papistes are as absurd and ridiculous in the other. There was reason why Austin should be moued with the name of [k] *Catholicke* when they that were called *Catholickes* had testimony of their faith from the communion and society of the church throughout the whole world, and were therefore so called [l] *quia communicant ecclesiæ toto orbe diffusæ*; *because*, saith Saint Austin, *they communicate with the church spread ouer the whole world*: but most sottishly is it alleaged for a motiue vnto vs, being now Donatistically applied to one particular church of Rome and men bearing the name of *Catholickes* onely for communicating with that church. Surely as the name of Iewes was of old a name of honour and the proper title of the people of God, but afterwardes by their apostasie who bare it was left for a [m] name of curse and reproch: so the name of Catholickes was an honourable name and the peculiar title of the

[c] *ibid.*

[f] *ibid. & Breuic. collat. cum Donatist. cap. 2. die. 3.*

[g] *Cont. Cresc on. Grammat. li. 2. cap. 37.*

[h] *epist. 48.*

[i] *ibid.*

[k] *Cont. epist. fundament. c. 4.*

[l] *Breuic. collat. cum Donat. die. 3. cap. 2.*

[m] *Esa. 65. 15.*

the true children of the church but now by their abuse who haue vniustly taken that name vnto themselues, it is become a name of curse and shame with the people of God, and the proper badge of Apostataes and hereticks. And as the Apostle denieth the name of [p] Iewes to them who yet according to the letter were so called because of the circumcision of the flesh, and applieth [o] the truth of the name to them who were so according to the spirit, albeit according to the letter they were not so named: so the name of Catholickes indeed belongeth not to the Romish faction, who according to the letter take vpon them to be so called, but the true meaning thereof belongeth to them, who although they ioy not in the literall name, being now become by abuse accursed and reprochful, yet do follow the same faith which they followed who first were called by the name of *Catholickes*. Let them haue the shell, so that we haue the kernell; let them vaunt themselues of the empty letter so long as we haue the true vertue and signification of the name. The name in his true vse importeth them that embrace the faith of the Catholicke, that is, the vniuersall church that hath bene from the beginning of the world, that is throghout the whol world, & shall be to the words end. Now as of this Catholicke church frō the beginning to the end there is, as appeareth in the words cited by M. Bishop, but [p] *one body*, euen as *one Lord, one God and Father of all*, so is there also but [q] *one spirit, one hope, one faith, one baptisme, one* [r] *spirituall meat and drinke*, one religion. Let vs then looke vnto those that haue beene before vs, and consider *Abel, Noe, Abraham, Isaac, Iacob* and the rest of the Patriarches and Fathers; let vs looke to *Moses* and the Prophets and the whole generations of the righteous and faithfull of the old Testament and see what their faith was; what was their religion and seruice of God. Vndoubtedly we finde not a Papist amongst them all: we finde no shadow of that which they now obtrude and thrust vpon vs vnder the name of Ca-

[p] *Rom* 2. 28.
[o] *vers.* 29.
[p] *Ephes.* 4. 4.
[q] *ibid.*
[r] 1. *Cor.* 10. 3.

tholicke religion. They did not worship idols and images; they did not comming after pray to the saints that were dead before; they vsed no inuocation of angels; they knew no merits nor works of supererogation; they vowed no vowes of monkerie; they neither sold nor bought pardons, nor made praiers for soules in Purgatorie; they made no pilgrimages to reliques and dead mens bones; they knew no shrift nor absolution, nor any of that rif-raffe stuffe wherein the substance of Catholicke religion is now imagined to consist. But what they did, the same doe we: as they worshipped God, so, sauing ceremoniall obseruations, we also worship him; as they beleeued, so by [c] *the same spirit of faith* we also beleeue; as they praied, so and with the same words we also pray; according to the approoued example of their life, we also teach men to liue. Therefore not Poperie but our religion is the Catholicke religion, because it is that which the Catholicke church hath practised from the beginning of the world, and Popish religion is not so. The same faith and religion which they followed and no other our Sauiour Christ at his comming further confirmed and onely stripping it of those types and shadowes, wherewith it pleased God for the time to cloth it, commended the same to his Apostles simply and nakedly to be preached to the nations. They did so: [a] *they added nothing of their own:* they preached onely [b] *the Gospell promised before by the prophets in the holy Scriptures:* [x] *saying none other things then those which the prophets and Moses did say should come.* [y] *The Gospell which they first preached, afterwards by the will of God,* as Ireneus saith, *they deliuered to vs in writing to be the pillar and foundation of our faith.* Thus then what Christ deliuered, the Apostles preached: what the Apostles preached, they wrote: what they wrote, we receiue and beleeue, and [z] *beleeuing this,* as Tertullian saith, *we desire to beleeue no more, because we first beleeue that there is nothing else for vs to beleeue.* And therefore as Saint Austin saith, [a] *If any man, nay if an angell from heauen shall preach*

[c] 2. Cor. 4. 13.

[a] Tertul. de præscript. adu. hæret.
[b] Rom. 1. 2.
[x] Act. 26. 22.
[y] Iren. lib. 3. cap. 1.

[z] Tertul. de præscript. adu. hæret.
[a] August. cont. lit. Petil. l. 3. cap. 6.

preach vnto vs concerning Christ, or concerning his church, or concerning any thing pertaining to our faith & life but what we haue receiued in the Scriptures of the Law and Gospel, accursed be he. Our faith therfore, because it is that which the Apostles committed to writing, is the *Apostolicke faith*, & our church [b] *ex consanguinitate doctrinæ, by consanguinitie and agreement of doctrine* is proued to be an *Apostolicke church*. Of this our *Apostolicke church* his Maiesty is the principal member, and vnder Iesus Christ the supreme gouernour: this Apostolicke faith he embraceth, maintaineth and setteth foorth, and this is *the onely true Catholicke and Apostolicke faith*. As for M. Bishops religion, it cannot be the Catholicke religion, because it is not that which the Catholicke church, that is, the faithfull of all ages haue practised: his faith is not the Apostolicke faith, because it is not that which the Apostles left in writing. They make no mention of the Pope, of his supremacie, of his pardons, of worshipping of images, inuocation of Saints, pilgrimages, and a thousand such other trumperies.

[b] *Tertul. vt supra.*

Now whereas he alleageth that all his Maiesties most roiall progenitours haue liued and died in that which he calleth the Catholicke and Apostolicke faith, he plaieth the part of Symmachus the Pagan Sophister, who by the like argument would haue perswaded Valentinian the Emperour to restore their heathenish idolatries and abhominations. [c] *We are to follow our fathers*, saith he, *who with happinesse and felicitie followed their fathers.* Thus men haue hardened themselues in their heresies saying, [d] *Parentes mei quod fuerunt, hoc & ego. What my father and mother were before me, the same will I be.* But his Maiestie well knoweth that in matter of religion the example of parents is no bond to the children, but the triall thereof is, [e] *to returne to the roote and originall of the Lords tradition*, as Cyprian speaketh, not *regarding what any before vs hath thought fit to be done, but what Christ hath done who is before all.* It is not vnknowne to his Maiestie that there should

[c] *Ambros. epist. lib. 5. in Relat. Symmach.*
[d] *Aug. Psal. 54.*
[e] *Cyprian. li. 2. epist. 3.*

[f] *Apoc.17. 13.17.* be a time when the *kinges* of the earth [f] *should giue their power and kingdome to the beast vntill the word of God be fulfilled*, and with the *whoore sitting vpon many waters should* bend themselues to [g] *fight against the Lambe*. Wherein if any of his progenitours or predecessours haue erred, he leaueth them to the counsell of God, but by the worde of God learneth himselfe to be one of them that [h] *shall hate the whoore and make her desolate and naked, and shall eate her flesh and burne her with fire*. Albeit it is vtterly false which hee affirmeth that all his Maiesties progenitours, kings of these Realmes of England and Scotland liued and died in the Romish faith that now our Romish factours so much labour to set vp. Indeed he and his fellowes are woont to be very lauish in their speeches of this matter, as if from king Lucius of Britaine and Donaldus of Scotland the onely religion that had beene professed had bene the Romish idolatrie and superstition that now is practised by them; whereas it shall afterwards plainly appeere, that at the comming in of Austin the Italian monke, foure hundred yeeres after the receiuing of the faith into this Iland, the Bishops & churches of Scotland ioyned with the Britaines against those new obseruations which the same Austin brought from Rome, and would by no meanes admit thereof, and for the space of a hundred yeeres at least, refused to communicate with the English that had receiued the same. Yea and in the time of [i] king Henry the third, twelue hundred yeeres after the incarnation of Christ, when the Popes Legate would haue entred into Scotland to visite the churches there, the king of Scots, Alexander the second, forbad him so to do, alleaging that none of his predecessors had admitted any such, neither would he suffer it, and therefore willed him at his owne perill to forbeare; so long was it before the Popes authoritie could gaine any acknowledgement in that kingdome, which his agents would make vs beleeue hath beene in all ages vniuersally and vnquestionably receiued.

[g] *verſ.14.*

[h] *verſ 16.*

[i] *Math. Pariſ. in Henric. 3. anno 1238. 1239.*

ceiued. But they care not indeed what they say or write, so that it may carrie a magnificall and braue shew to dazell the eies of them that are not well acquainted with their lewd and naughtie dealing.

But M. Bishop being out of doubt that he should not preuaile in this first part of his suite, therefore addeth the second: *Or if you cannot be wonne so soone to alter that religion in which it hath beene your misfortune to haue beene bred and brought vp, that then in the meane season you will not so heauily persecute the sincere professors of the other.* Where we see the presumption of a base and beggerly vassall (I forget heere that he is a Doctor of Diuinitie, I consider him as a subiect) thus to vpbraid his prince with misfortune in *his breeding and bringing vp*, whereas his Maiesties bringing vp by the singular prouidence and disposition of almighty God hath sorted to make him high & admirable amongst other princes, and he hath learned thereby to be indeed a king, by casting off that yoke of bondage, whereby sundry other princes are enthralled to a beast: yea and by his bringing vp is so well able to defend and mainteine the religion that he professeth, that M. Bishop must stand before him like a dumbe asse able to say nothing, but onely to repeate their old cuckowes song, The church, the church: the fathers, the fathers, albeit he can make nothing good neither by church nor fathers. But his sute is that his Maiestie will leaue off *so heauily to persecute them*, complaining before he haue cause, & entreating his Maiestie to leaue off before he haue begun. And doth a dissembling hypocrite talke of *heauy persecution* o nely for easie imprisonment and ammerciament of goods, when they in most barbarous and cruell sort by infinite vexations and torments, by rackes and strapadaes, by fire and sword, haue spilt and destroied the bloud and liues of so many thousands of ours onely for the profession of the Gospell of Christ? But no otherwise doe they complaine of persecutions then did of old the [k] Donatists and runna-

[k] *Vitellius Donatista apud Genna. in Catalog.*

gate Circumcellions, and we say of them as Saint Austin did of the other: [l] *They suffer persecution; sed pro fatuitate, pro vanitate: but it is for foolery; it is for vanitie.* [m] *Foolishnesse is bound in the heart of a childe,* saith Solomon, *but the rod of correction shall driue it away from him.* Indeed they doe for the most part but play the children; it is but their will, or rather their wilfulnesse for which they suffer: they can giue no reason why they so doe, but what ignorance affoordeth them, they must follow the church: they will doe as their fathers and forefathers haue done. It is fit that a childes stomacke be subdued with a rod, and necessarie that some course be taken for the subduing and reforming of their will.

[l] *August. in Psal. 59.*

[m] *Prou. 22. 25.*

4. W. Bishop.

Very many vrgent, and forcible reasons might be produced, in fauour and defence of the Catholicke Roman Religion, whereof diuers haue beene in most learned treatises, tendered to your Maiestie alreadie. Wherefore I will onely touch three: two of them chosen out of the subiect of this booke: The third selected from a sentence of your Maiesties, recorded in the aforesaid Conference.

And because that argument is, as most sensible, so best assured, which proceedeth from a principle that is either euident in it selfe, or else granted, and confessed for true: My first proofe shall be grounded vpon that your Maiesties owne resolute, and constant opinion (as it appeareth in the said conference) to witte: That no church ought farther to separate it selfe from the church of Rome, either in doctrine or ceremonie, then she hath departed from her selfe, when she was in her flourishing, and best estate. *From whence I deduce this reason: The principall pillers of the church of Rome in her most flourishing estate, taught in all points of Religion, the same Doctrine, that shee now holdeth and teacheth; and in expresse tearmes condemneth for errour and heresie, most of those Articles, which the Protestants esteeme to be the principall parts*

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parts of their reformed Gospell: Therefore if your Maiestie will resolutely embrace, and constantly defend that doctrine, which the Roman church maintained in her most flourishing estate: you must forsake the Protestant, and take the Catholicke into your Princely protection.

R. Abbot.

You talke M. Bishop, of many vrgent and forcible reasons, but you talke as your fellowes doe like Mountebankes and iuglers: you haue much prating and manie wordes, but your reasons when they are duely examined are as light as feathers before the winde. Neither would they seeme other to your owne followers, but that you bewitch them to this principle that they must reade nothing written on our part for answere of them. We see your vrgent and forcible reasons in this booke which you tell vs is *the marrow and pith of many large volumes.* I doubt not but by that time I haue examined the same, your owne pupills and scholers, if they reade the answer, wil account you a meere seducer, a cosener and abuser of them, and will detest you accordingly. But to beginne withall, you offer three reasons to his Maiesty in your epistle for the iustifying of your Romish religion and for the empeaching of ours: *two chosen out of the subiect of this booke: the third selected from a sentence of his Maiesty* deliuered at the Conference. Now if these reasons proone reasonlesse, then your reason, M. Bishop, should haue taught you more manners and duetie then thus to trouble his most excellent Maiesty with your reasonlesse reasons. To examine them in order, his first reason is grounded vpō a principle most iudiciously and soundly affirmed by his Maiesty at the Conference aforesaide: [2] *That no Church ought further to separate it selfe from the church of Rome in doctrine or ceremonie, then shee hath departed from her selfe when shee was in her flourishing and best estate, and,* which is subtilly left out by M. Bishop, *from Christ her lord and head.* For seeing it cannot

[2] Conser. pag. 75.

cannot be denied but that the church of Rome was once sound and vpright in the faith, the Apostle bearing wit-
[b] *Rom.*1.8. nesse that [b] *there faith was published throughout the whole world*, it must needes follow that what shee hath not since that time altered is still vpright and sound, and therefore to be imbraced. Now from hence M. Bishop argueth thus that *the principall pillars of the church of Rome in her most flouri∫hing e∫tate taught in all points of Religion the same doctrine that shee now holdeth, and in expresse termes did condemne for errour and hereſie* the most of the articles of our religion: therefore if his Maiesty will embrace that doctrine which the Roman church maintained in her most flourishing estate he must forsake the Protestant & receiue the Catholicke into his princely protection. But soft and faire Master Bishop, there is no hast. Your proposition yet remaineth to be prooued, which you cannot prooue, and it is indeed grosly and absurdly false. We hope you will not deny but that the Apostle Saint Paul was one principal pillar of that church, who there shed his bloud for the witnessing of the faith. He wrot an epistle to the church of Rome at that time when the faith thereof was most renowmed through the world. He wrote at
[a] *Theodoret. præfat. in epist. Pauli.* large comprehending therein as Thedoret saieth [a] *Omnis generis doctrinam et accuratam copiosamq; dogmatum pertractationem: doctrine of all sortes, or all kinde of doctrine, and very exact and plentifull handling of the points thereof.* Now in all that epistle what doth he say either for you or against vs? nay what doth he not say for vs against you? He con-
[d] *Rom.*1.23. demneth [d] *the changing of the glorie of the incorruptible god*
[e] *Vers.*25. *into the similitude of the image of a corruptible man, and* [e] *worshipping the creature in steed of the Creatour.* It is for vs against you: for you by your schoole trickes doubt not to teach men by the image of a man to worship God, and by religious deuotions of praiers and offerings to worshippe Saints and Saints images in steed of God. He
[f] *Rom.*1.17. saith, and we say the same, that [f] *the righteousnesse of God is from*

from faith to faith. You say otherwise that it is from faith to workes: that faith is but the entrance to workes, and that in workes the righteousnesse of God doth properly consist. The Apostle in expresse termes affirmeth [g] *imputation of righteousnesse without workes*; we doe the same, but you professedly dispute against it. He teacheth vs that [h] *eternall life is the gift of God through Iesus Christ our Lord:* but you, M. Bishop, tell vs that all [i] *that are of yeeres of discretion must either by their good cariage deserue eternall life, or else for their bad behauiour be disinherited.* He telleth vs againe and againe that [k] *concupiscence is sinne, to lust is to sinne*, and that by *the law* it is knowen so to be: we say the same, but you goe about to make vs beleeue that it is not sinne. He saith of the [l] *spirit of adoption, the same spirit beareth witnesse with our spirit that we are the sonnes of God:* but you say we haue no such witnesse whereby we should beleeue that we are the sonnes of God. He saith the [m] *sufferings of this time are not worthy of the glory that shalbe reuealed vnto vs:* but you say they are woorthy. He saith nothing for those points for the deniall whereof M. Bishop condemneth vs; nothing for iustification before God by workes, nothing for free will; nothing for reliques; nothing for the merit of single life; nothing for praier for the dead; nothing for Traditions; nothing for any of the rest. Now in this case, M. Bishop, it had beene fit that you should by very good reason haue satisfied his Maiesty how it should be probable or possible that the Apostle writing at large to the church of Rome, should not once mention any of those maine points wherein the religion of the church of Rome now wholy consisteth, if the church of Rome were then the same that now it is: that he should say nothing of the prerogatiue of that church, nothing of the Pope, of his pardons, of the Masse, of transubstantiation, of Moonkish vowes, of images, of pilgrimages, of praier to Saintes, of all the rest of your baggage stuffe: in a word that he should be a Papist, and yet should write

[g] Rom. 4. 6.
[h] Rom. 6. 23.
[i] Pag. 98.
[k] Rom. 7. 7. 8. &c.
[l] Rom. 8. 16.
[m] Rom. 8. 18.

nothing but what in shew at least serueth the Protestants turne; only we must be perswaded forsooth that [n] *where any thing soundeth contrary to the Romish faith, we faile of the right sense.* But vndoubtedly, M. Bishop, either Saint Paul was a Protestant, or else he dealt very negligently in your behalfe. Saint Peter was another principall pillar of that church, the founder and head thereof as you perswade vs. What, would he also forget the triple crowne? would he say nothing of all those things? Not a worde. There is nothing hindereth in either of his epistles but that he also must be taken for a Protestant. Me thinkes here you should fare as in another case [o] *Robertus Licienſis* did before the Pope. You should spit and cry out, *fie vpon Peter, fie vpon Paul.* Would they not thinke these trash and trinkets of ours so much woorth as to speake of them? Ah these Protestants, these heretickes, they say all for them, and nothing at all for vs. But alas, Peter and Paul had not heard of any of these things and therefore no maruell that they wrote nothing of them. They read Moses and the prophets: they preached as Christ did according to the scriptures: the Catholicke religion that had beene from the beginning of the world they continued: betwixt the old and the new testament we see a woonderfull agreement, but concerning Popery we see nothing.

[n] *Rhem. Test. argum. of the epist. in generall.*

[o] *Erasm. de rat. concion. lib. 3.*

Well, M. Bishop, let vs leaue Peter and Paul for heretickes: let vs see whether those that succeeded did all teach the same doctrine that the church of Rome now teacheth. Eleutherius the Bishop of Rome being sent vnto by Lucius king of this realme for a copy of the [p] Roman constitutions for the gouernement of his new conuerted church and of the Imperiall lawes for the better ordering of his common wealth about 150 yeeres after the death of Christ, for answere writeth vnto him: that *hauing receiued in his kingdome the law and faith of Christ, and hauing now the old and new testament, he should by a Councell of his realme take lawes from thence to gouerne thereby: that he was the vi-*

[p] *Holinsh. descript. of Britaine cap. 7. Annals of England by Iohn Stow.*

car

car of God in his kingdomes; that the people and nations of the kingdome of Britaine were his, euen his children: that such as were diuided he should gather them together vnto the law of Christ: his holy church to peace and concord: and should cherish, maintaine, protect, gouerne and defend them. &c. But now the religion of Rome hath altered that stile and telleth vs that not the king but the Pope is [q] *Gods vicar vpon earth*, his vicar generall for all kingdomes: and as for the church, the matters and gouernement thereof belong not to the king: who if he make any lawes concerning religion, [r] *he chalengeth to himselfe anothers right*, that is, the Popes; because God would not *haue the worke of Christian religion to be ordered by publicke lawes or by the secular powers but by Popes and bishops.* Anacletus Bishop of Rome and after him Calixtus ordeined [s] *that consecration being done all should communicate or else be excommunicated: For so*, say they, *the Apostles did set downe and the holy church of Rome obserueth.* But the church of Rome that now is maketh it lawfull for the priest to receiue alone; the people in the meane time stand gazing and looking on; and the sight only must suffice them. Iulius the bishop of Rome disallowed [t] *intinctam Eucharistiam, the dipping of the Eucharist* the sacrament of Christs body in the cup, *because no witnesse hereof was brought out of the Gospell, but there is mentioned the commending of the bread by it selfe, and the cup by it selfe.* But now by the Canon of the masse the priest must [u] *dippe the third part of the consecrated host in the sacrament of the blood and then praieth that this mixture may be healthfull to himselfe and all the receiuers vnto euerlasting life.* Gelasius Bishop of Rome saith as we say that [x] *in the sacrament is celebrated an image or semblance of the body and blood of Christ, and that there ceaseth not to be the substance or nature of bread and wine*: But now the Romish religion maketh them heretickes that say the sacramẽt is the image or semblance of the body and blood of Christ and not the body and blood it selfe, or will not beleeue that the bread

[q] *Sext. proœm. in glossa.*

[r] *Dist. 96. si imperator.*

[s] *Dist. 1. Episcopus. & 2. Peracta.*

[t] *De consecrat. dist. 2. Cum omne.*

[u] *Breuiar. Rom. in Canone missæ.*

[x] *Gelas. cont. Eutych. & Nestor.*

and wine are substantially and really turned into the same body and blood, albeit they beleeue with the same *Gelasius* that the sacrament *is a diuine thing, and that thereby we are made partakers of the diuine nature*; euen of Christ himselfe, really and substantially, but yet spiritually, with all his riches becomming ours, and being eaten of vs, not by our teeth into our bellies, but by faith into our hearts vnto euerlasting life. The same *Gelasius* when he vnderstood that some [y] *receiuing onely the portion of the sacred body of Christ, did forbeare the cup of his sacred blood*, did forbid *that superstition*, and willed *that either they should receiue the Sacrament whole, or be kept from the whole, because the diuiding of one and the same mysterie cannot come without great sacriledge:* but now the church of Rome is so farre off from acknowledging the diuiding of that mysterie to be sacriledge as that shee pretendeth to be mooued [z] *with iust causes and reasons* (such as Christ and his Apostles and the primitiue church had neuer the witte to consider of) to administer the sacrament to the people *onely in one kind*, and pronounceth them accursed that say shee erreth in so dooing. *Leo* bishop of Rome speaking of the Martyrs saith, [a] that *although the death of many saints hath beene precious in the Lords sight, yet the death of no innocent person hath beene the propitiation of the world; that the righteous receiued crownes but gaue none, and that of the fortitude of the faithfull haue growen examples of patience, not gifts of righteousnesse: that their deaths as they were seuerall persons were seuerall to euery of themselues, and that none of them by his death paied the debt of any other man, because it is onely our Lord Iesus Christ in whom all were crucified, all dead, all buried, all raised againe from the dead:* but now the church of Rome hath changed that language, and telleth vs that there are [b] *superabounding passions and satisfactions of the saints*, wherein they haue suffered more then is due for their owne sinnes, and which doe serue to supplie the necessitie and want of others, and that they doe thereby *pay the*

ibid.

[y] *De consecr. dist. 2. Comperimus.*

[z] *Concil. Trident. sess. 5. can. 2.*

[a] *Leo epist. 81.*

[b] *Bellar. de Indulgent. l. 1. c. 2. Rhem. Annot. in Col. 1. 24. Extrauag. de pœnitent. & rem. cap. Vnigenitus.*

the debt of other men; that hereof is growen a *treasure* in the church of Rome which is to be dispensed and disposed by the Pope, and that hence his *Indulgences and pardons* haue their ground. The same Leo did not take vpon him to call generall Councels, but when occasion of the heresie of Eutyches so required, made request to the Emperour Theodosius that he would [c] commaund a Councell, and often entreated that hee woulde appoint the same in some place of Italy, which notwithstanding the Emperour would not but commaunded it to be holden at [d] Ephesus, and Martianus after at [e] Chalcedon, and that when [f] Leo againe would haue had it deferred to a better opportunitie, as indeed the [g] *affaires of the Church after that the Emperours were Christians seemed to depend vpon their will, and at their liking the greatest Councells were assembled* as Socrates witnesseth: [h] *secundum sanctionem imperialem*; *per imperialem sanctionem*, as the sixt synod in *Trullo* [i] often repeateth; yea and so as that the Emperour at his pleasure was president of the Councell, as in that [k] sixt synod was Constantinus the fourth: but now the calling and presidencie and confirmation of Councells is defended to belong wholly to the Pope: as for Christian emperours and princes they haue nothing to doe but to send when he calleth, and to receiue what he confirmeth. The same Leo professed [l] *his obedience to the emperours appointment and will*, to Theodosius and Martianus, and Agatho the Bishop of Rome [m] *his due obedience to* Constantinus the fourth, and *what your Maiesties clemencie hath commanded*, saith he, *our seruice hath obediently performed*: [n] *the emperour being honoured* according to the antient doctrine of the church *as next to God & inferior to God only*: but since that time the Romish doctrine is, that looke [o] *how much the Moone is lesse then the sunne, so much is the Emperour inferiour to the Pope*, and therefore they haue written him [p] *the Popes man*, and made him [q] to hold his stirrop, and appointed him to hold the basin to him, and

[c] *Leo epist.* 9. 23. 24. 31.
[d] *Epist.* 23.
[e] *Epist.* 49.
[f] *Epist.* 42. 47. 48.
[g] *Socrat. hist. eccles. lib.* 5. *in proœmio.*
[h] *Synod* 6. *Constantinopolit. Act.* 1.
[i] *Action.* 4. 5 6.
[k] *ibid. Act.* 1. 2. 3. & *præsidente eodem Imperatore Constantino.*
[l] *Leo ep.* 16. 57.
[m] *Agath epist. ad Constantin. Synod* 6 *act.* 4.
[n] *Tertull. ad Scapu & Apologet. ca.* 30.
[o] *Decret. Greg. de Maior. & obedien. ca. solitæ.*
[p] *Catalog. test. verit. ex Radevico.*
[q] *Sacr. Cerem. eccle. Rom.*

to doe sundry other offices of seruice, and to make all sure the Pope hath made him to [r] sweare fidelity and allegeance vnto him. [s] *There is no doubt*, saith the Pope, *but we haue superioritie ouer the empire.* [t] *Who doubteth but that Priests are the fathers and masters of kings and princes? It is miserable madnesse for the children to goe about to subiect to them their fathers, or scholers their masters:* And therefore [u] *Christian emperours must subiect their executions to the Ecclesiasticall prelates, and not prefer them.* Pelagius the bishop of Rome, the first of that name, admitted a maried man to be [x] bishop of Syracusa, onely putting in caution that he should not dilapidate the church goods, and transferre the same to his wife and children, the danger whereof he signifieth *was the cause of that constitution which did forbid a man hauing wife and children to be preferred to a bishopricke;* [y] *otherwise a man is not repelled for wife and children*, saith the glosse, *because the Apostle permitteth the same:* but now the church of Rome will by no meanes admit married men to be bishops or priests, not for that they would auoide the dilapidating of the church goods, (for that is a thing common with the Popes themselues to applie all [z] *to satisfie the greedinesse and couetousnesse of their familiars, their brethren, their nephewes*, vnder which name cōmonly go their bastards) but because they ascribe to mariage, as the old heretickes did, *pollution and vncleannes*, which cannot stand with the sanctitie and holinesse of the priestly function. The Emperours of Rome Theodosius and Valens according to the doctrine of the auncient church of Rome [a] *vpon care of preseruing the religion of the high God, did forbid the making, grauing, or painting of the Crucifix, and commanded it vpon penaltie to be abolished whersoeuer it was found:* but now not the making onely but also the worshipping of the Crucifix with diuine honour and worship is a matter of high religion in the same church of Rome. Gregory bishop of Rome taught [b] *that all the merit of our vertue, all our righteousnesse, is but vice and vn-*

righteousnesse

[r] *Dist. 69. Tibi domino.*
[s] *Clement. de appellat. cap. Pastoralu.*
[t] *Dist. 95. Quis dubitet.*
[u] *Dist. 96. si imperator.*
[x] *Dist. 28. de Syracusane.*
[y] *Glossa. ibid.*
[z] *Platin. de vit. Pontif. in Ioan. 16.*
* *Bellarm. de Clericis lib. 1. cap. 19.*
[a] *Pet. Crinit. de honest. disciplina lib. 9. ca. 9.*
[b] *Gregor. Moral. lib. 9. cap. 1. & 14.*

righteousnesse if it be strictly examined: it needeth therefore praier after righteousnesse, saith he, *that whereas being sifted it would quaile, it may by the onely mercy of the iudge stande for good*: Yea and Bernard by the same doctrine of the church of Rome saith, that [c] *mens merits are not such as that eternall life should be due vnto them of right, or that God should doe wrong if he did not giue the same*; [d] *they are the way to the kingdome*, saith he, *but not the cause of obteining the kingdome*: but now the church of Rome attributeth so great perfection of righteousnesse to good works, as that [e] *they fully satisfie the law of God*, and [f] *woorthely deserue eternall life*; yea they affirme them to be [g] *so far meritorious, as that God should be vniust if he rendered not heauen for the same*, charging the iustice of God not in respect of his promise as the Apostle doth, but in respect of the merit & desert of works. The same Gregory affirmeth, that [h] *Missa, the masse was so called for that they were to be dismissed, or sent away by the deacon that did not receiue the holy communion: for that they that should not be present at the celebration of the sacrament were commanded to goe foorth: therefore*, saieth he, vnlesse *at the voice of the deacon after the manner of our aunceſtours they that doe not communicate be willed to goe foorth, the seruice which is called the Masse is not rightly performed*: but now the Romish masse is thought to be rightly and duely performed albeit no man communicate but the priest, and without any dismissing of them, that do not addresse themselues to the communion, the people, as was said before, being but onely spectatours and lookers on. The same Gregory affirmed that [i] *whosoeuer called himselfe or desired to be called the vniuersall bishop, was the forerunner of Antichrist, and* [k] *did propose to himselfe to follow him who despising the legions of Angells that were placed in society with him did endeuour to grow vp to the top of singularity, that he might seeme to be vnder none and himselfe alone to be aboue all*: he calleth it *a new name, a name of errour, a fonde name, proud, peruerse, rash, wicked, prophane, which*, saith he, *none*

[c] *Bernard. in Annunciat. ser. 1.*
[d] *De lib. arb. & grat. in fine.*
[e] *Trident. Synod. sess. 6. c. 16.*
[f] *Rhem. Annot. in 2. Tim. 4. 8.*
[g] *In Heb. 6. 10.*
[h] *Citatur in orthodoxo consensu de sacr. Eucharist. ca. 2. ex Liturg. Georg. Cassandri.*
[i] *Greg. epist. lib. 6. ep. 30.*
[k] *Lib. 4 epist. 32. 36. 38.*

none of my predecessours consented to vse : by which no man hath presumed to be called that was in truth a holy man : but soone after the time of Gregory the Bishop of Rome tooke vpon him that hatefull name, and hath since continued the same, challenging the [l] *whole world to be his dioceſſe*, and is growen to that height of pride as that hee doubteth not to proclaime *that it* [m] *standeth vpon neceſſity of saluation for euery soule to bee subiect to the Bishop of Rome.* Gregorie the ninth Bishop of Rome, though liuing in latter time of great corruption, yet by the auncient doctrine of the church of Rome could say that [n] *the not knowing of the scriptures by the testimonie of truth it selfe is the occasion of errours, and therefore that it is expedient for all men to read or heare the same:* but now the Romish doctrine is that it is pernitious for the people to meddle with the scriptures; that the reading and knowledge thereof is the breeding of errour and heresie; and as dogs from holy things, so the people must be secluded from the reading and vse of them. Hierome and Ruffinus by the doctrine of the church of Rome exclude from the Canonicall scriptures the same bookes that we doe : the bookes of [o] *Iudith, Tobias, Wisedome, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch,* and the rest : they say plainly : *Non sunt in Canone : non sunt Canonici : they are not Canonicall or in the Canon :* [p] *the church readeth them for instruction of manners, not to giue any authoirty to any ecclesiasticall doctrine :* but now the church of Rome will haue them to be receiued and beleeued for [q] Canonicall scriptures, and of equall and like authority with all the other bookes. Vigilius borne at Rome and Bishop of Trent according to the doctrine of the church of Rome that then was, affirmeth that [r] *the body of Christ when it was vpon the earth was not in heauen, and that now because it is in heauen, it is not vpon the earth :* but now the [s] Councell of Trent and church of Rome would persuade vs that the very body of Christ though it be in heauen yet is really and substantially here vpon the earth also, vpon the

[l] *Decret. Greg. de foro competenti. cap. Licet.*
[m] *Extraug. de maior. & obid. cap. vnam sanctam.*
[n] *Greg. epist. ad German. Archiep. Constant. apud Matth. Paris. in Henrico tertio.*
[o] *Hieron. in prolog. Galeato. & Ruffin in exposit. symb.*
[p] *Hierony. præf. in lib. Solomonis. Ruffin. vt supra.*
[q] *Concil. Trident. Sess. 4. c. 1.*
[r] *Vigil. cont. Eutychen. l. 4.*
[s] *Concil. Trid. sess. 3. sub Iulio 3. cap. 1.*

the altar, and in the pyxe and in the priests belly and in the bellies of as many as are partakers of the sacrament. Tertullian being [t] for envy of the clergy of Rome fallen to the heresie of Montanus and thereupon oppugning the doctrine of the same church, declareth what the said church then taught concerning fasting; of purpose to dispute against it: "*They say*, saith he, *that men are to fast indifferently at their discretion; not by commaundement; euerie man according to his owne times and occasions: that the Apostles did so obserue, imposing no yoke of standing fastes and such as should in common be kept of all: that in Xerophagijs, in our fastes with bread and water there is somewhat neere to heathenish superstition, perfourming the purifications of Apis, Isis, and Cybele by the forbearing of certaine meates: whereas faith being free in Christ oweth not to the Iewish law the forbearing of any meates, being at once admitted by the Apostle into the whole shambles; the same Apostle being a detester of them that forbid to marry and commaund to abstaine from meates created of god, and therefore that we were noted in them that should in the last times depart from the faith. &c. so they say that we also are reprooued with the Galatians as obseruers of daies and moneths and yeeres. They alleage also that Esay saied, The Lord hath not chosen such a fast, that is, not forbearing of meates but workes of iustice, which he there setteth downe: yea and that the Lord himselfe in the gospell answereth briefly as touching all scrupulosity concerning our liuelihood, that a man is not defiled with those things that enter into his mouth, but with those things that come out of the mouth: he himselfe eating and drinking so as that they noted him for it; Behold a glutton and a drinker of wine: that the Apostle also teacheth that meat commendeth vs not to God, neither hauing the more if we eate, nor the lesse if we eate not. It is needefull that with al my hart I beleeue and loue God, and loue my neighbour as my selfe: for in these two commaundements standeth the whole law and prophets, and not in the emptinesse of my belie.* See M. Bishop how like a Protestant the church of

[t] *Hierony. in Catal. script. eccles.*

" *Tertull. de ieiunio adu. Psychicos.*

Rome spake in those daies. Would you not thinke that Luther, or Caluin, or Beza were the authour of those wordes? How lightly doe you regard these arguments from vs which the church of Rome foureteene hundred yeeres agoe vsed to the very same purpose that we nowe doe? But the church of Rome hath learned now to sing another song: she condemned the heresie of Montanus then, but now shee maintaineth it. I auouch it, M. Bishop, that concerning fasting, neither you nor all your fellowes are able to acquit the church of Rome that now is of the heresie of Montanus. The Montanistes appointed [x] certaine and standing daies for fasting and forbearing of certaine meates: so doe the Papistes. The Montanistes did not take any creature or meate to be [y] vncleane, but did only by way [z] of deuotion as they pretended forbeare at certaine times: and the Papists also doe the same. The Montanistes being vrged with the place of Saint Paul to Timothy, of them *that commaund to abstaine from meates*, answered that that place touched [z] Marcion and Tatianus & such other who condemned the creatures as euill and vncleane, not them who did not reiect the creatures, but only forbeare the vse of them at sometimes: [a] the same answere giue the Papistes. The Montanistes tooke their very fastings to be a [b] seruice and worship of God: so doe the [c] Papistes. The Montanistes thought that their fasting did [d] merit at Gods hands: that it was a satisfaction for sin, an expiation of sinne: that emptinesse of belly did much auaile with God, and made God to dwell with man: the same effects doe the Papists teach of their superstitious fastes. Looke what arguments the Papistes vse for their fastings, the very same Tertullian vsed for the Montanistes. Looke what cauills and calumniations the Papistes vse against vs of feasting in steed of fasting, of Epicurisme and pampering the belly, the same Tertullian being a Montanist vsed against the doctrine of the church of Rome that then was, whereas neither that church

[x] *Tertul. de ieiunio.*
[y] *Ibid. Non ex institutione, sed ex deuotione: non ex fastidio sed ex officio: non reijcimus sed differimus.*
[z] *Ibid. prædamnans hæreticos perpetuam abstinentiam præcepturos ad destruenda & despicienda opera creatoris: quales apud Marcionem, apud Tatianum, non apud Paracletum.*
[a] *Rhem. Annot. in 1. Tim. 4. 3.*
[b] *Tertul. ibid. Dei nostri officia indic. Paracletus. In honorem creatoris.*
[c] *Bellar. de bon. oper. in partic. lib. 2. ca. 8.*
[d] *Tertul. ibid. Ratio promerendi deum sexpiat delictum: deo satisfacit: de deo meretur. &c.*

church then, nor we now do reiect that true fasting which the scripture teacheth, but only those opinions of fasting which the Montanistes first deuised and the Papists haue receiued against the scripture: to forbeare continually by way of religion such and such daies, from such and such meates with a minde therein and by their verie forbearance to do a worship to God, to satisfie for sinne, to merit and purchase the forgiuenesse thereof and to deserue eternall life.

But to the heresie of Montanus the church of Rome hath added the practise and defence of sundry other heresies which were condemned of old by the same church. The Collyridians were adiudged heretickes for worshiping the Virgin Mary and offering vnto her: Epiphanius calling it [e] *a wicked and blasphemous act, a deuilish worke and the doctrine of the vncleane spirit:* affirming that [f] *shee was not giuen vs to be worshipped; that because men should not to much admire or thinke to highly of her, therefore he spake to her* in that sort in the Gospell, *Woman, what haue I to doe with thee? that none of the prophets taught to worship any man, therefore not a woman:* that *if God would not haue the Angells to be worshipped, much lesse a woman: that the sonne of God tooke flesh of the holy virgine, but not that shee should therefore be worshipped; not to make her a God; not that we should offer in her name: that shee should be in honour, but yet let no man worship her,* saith he: *let them not say, we doe honour to the Queene of heauen.* Yet the church of Rome that now is worshippeth the Virgin Marie, praieth and offereth vnto her vnder the name of the *Queene of heauen*, and accounteth them heretickes that will not so doe. [g] Carpocrates and his minion Marcellina were condemned for heretickes for worshipping as other images so namely the images of Iesus Christ: yet now the Papists doe the same, and notwithstanding wilbe accounted Catholickes. The councell of Laodicea, approoued by the old church of Rome, did forbid [h] *to pray to Angells or to worship them*, and they that did

[e] *Epiphan. hær. 78. Antidicomar.*
[f] *Idem. hær. 79. collyridian.*
[g] *Iren. lib. 1. cap. 24. August. de hæres. ad Quodvultd.*
[h] *Theodoret. in ep. Coloss. 2.*

[l] *Aug. de hæres. 39.* did so were accounted [l] heretickes, but worship and praier to Angells is a part of Catholicke doctrine with the church of Rome that now is. The Councell of Gangra approoued likewise by the old church of Rome condemned the Eustathians for heretickes for taking exception against maried priests, and to that purpose set downe this Canon:

[k] *Concil. Gangr. cap. 4.* [k] *If any man except against a priest that is married, as by occasion of his mariage that he ought not to minister, and doth therefore forbeare from his oblation or celebration, accursed be he:* but the latter church of Rome excepteth wholly against maried priests, and namely Gregorie the seuenth [l] forbad all laie men to be present at the celebrations of any such priests as were maried, *an example very strange,* saith Mathew Paris. *and very vnaduised as many thought.* The Valentian heretikes and Heracleonites were condemned by the old church of Rome for vsing [m] expiations and redemptions by annointing men when they were about to die; yet thereof hath the church of Rome now framed to themselues their sacrament of *extreme vnction.* It was heresie in the Pelagians with the old church of Rome to affirme in this life a possibilitie perfectly to fulfill the law of God, and [n] S. Hierome as touching this point expresly disputeth against them: but now it is heresie with the church of Rome to affirme and teach the same that Hierome did, as M. Bishop afterwards giueth to vnderstand. The same Pelagians were accounted heretikes for saying that a man in this life might be ἀναμάρτητος, [o] *without sinne,* and that by baptisme he becommeth so: but now the church of Rome teacheth the same, and M. Bishop in plaine termes telleth vs that [p] *there is no more sinne left in the newly baptized man, then was in Adam in the state of innocencie:* to which state of baptisme they also equall a man when he is shriuen to the priest, and of him hath receiued absolution from his sinnes. I reserue the Pelagians doctrines of free will and satisfaction to their due place, where God willing it shall appeare that therein also the now

[l] *Math. Paris. in Willielmo. 1.*

[m] *Iren. l. 1. c. 18. Epipha. hær. 36. Aug. de hæres. 16.*

[n] *Hieron. adu. Pelag. l. 1. 2. 3. & ad Ctesiphontem.*

[o] *Hieron. adu. Pelag. l. 2. & 3. August. cont. 2. epist. Pelag. li. 4. c. 7. Oros. Apologet. de arbit. libert.*

[p] *Pag. 32.*

now church of Rome approueth those points as Catholicke and true for which the ancient church of Rome condemned them. Yea so farre is the Pelagian heresie in request with the Papists, as that [q] Faustus a bishop of Fraunce at that time a mainteiner thereof, is by some of them recorded for a Saint, and his booke which he hath written in behalfe thereof, is called [r] *opus insigne, a notable worke:* and by other [r] some the doctrine of S. Austin against the Pelagians concerning prædestination is oppugned, which of old was acknowledged by the church of Rome to be the Catholicke doctrine of the church.

[q] *Bigna. Biblio. sacra. tom. 2. & in indice author. alphabet. edit.*
[r] *ibid. tom. 4.*
[r] *Osor. de iustitia. lib. 9.*

I omit many other matters that might heere be added, perswading my selfe that I haue said enough to trouble M. Bishop in the prooving of that that he hath propounded, that *the principal pillars of the church of Rome in her most florishing estate, taught in all points of religion the same doctrin that she now holdeth and teacheth, &c.* Onely for conclusion let me aske him what bishop of Rome there was for the space of a thousand yeeres after Christ that practised or taught that concerning Pardons, which is now practised and taught in the church of Rome; that the Bishop of Rome hath any authoritie to giue such libels of Pardon, or that it is in him to giue faculties and authority to others to graunt the like with reseruation of speciall cases to himselfe? or that he can for saying such or such praiers, or for doing this or that release a man from Purgatory for so many hundred or thousand yeeres? What bishop of Rome was there that did proclaime a Iubilee with promise that all that would come to Rome to visite the churches that yeere should haue full and perfect forgiuenesse of all their sinnes? or that did charge the angels as did [t] Clement the sixt, that whosoeuer should die in his iourney thitherward, they should bring his soule into the glorie of Paradise: which of them did take vpon him the authoritie to be Canonizer of Saints? who euer beleeued or taught as it is now receiued in the church of Rome, that

[t] *Balens in Clement. 6.*

[a] *Sext. proœm. in gloss. Rhem. Annot. in Math. 10. 12.*

the [a] *bishops blessing* is the forgiuenesse of veniall sinnes? Other innouations I will passe ouer to further occasion: but concerning these matters in this place, I would pray M. Bishop to let vs be satisfied how the principal pillars of the church of Rome haue in *all points* taught the same, that the church of Rome teacheth now. The truth is, that as the name of [x] *Theseus his shippe* continued a long time when as it was so altered by putting in of new planks & boords as that it had nothing left of that that was in it when it was first builded by *Theseus*: so the church of Rome still continueth her name, and would be taken to be the same, albeit by chopping and changing shee is come to that passe, that shee hath in a manner nothing left of that doctrine for which she was first called *the church of Rome*. But M. Bishop taketh vpon him to proue the contrarie: let vs now examine what his proofes are.

[x] *Bodin. de rep. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

5. W. Bishop.

To demonstrate vnto your Maiestie, that we now hold in all points, the very same doctrine, which the most approoued ancient Doctors and holy Fathers held and deliuered: Because it is too long for an Epistle, I reserue it to the booke it selfe, for the points it handleth; and will heere briefly note out of it, some such old reprooued errors, that the Protestants doe reuiue, receiue, and auowe, as the very sinnewes of their Gospell. Martin Luther *the ring-leader of the new pretended reformation, laieth for the ground-worke of his Religion*, That man is iustified by onely faith: *and in this he is applauded and followed of all Protestants: and yet as testifieth the most sound witnesse of antiquitie, S.* Augustine, *that* onely faith is sufficient to saluation, *was an error sprong vp in the Apostles daies; against which, the Catholicke Epistles of S.* Peter, *and S.* Iames, *and S.* Iohn, *were principally directed. And the author of that error was that infamous sorcerer* Simon Magus, *as the blessed Martyr* Ireneus *hath recorded in his first booke against heresies.*

Aug. de fide & operibus ca. 14.

Cap. 20.

R. Abbot.

R. ABBOT.

M. Bishops proofes are *demonstrations* at the least, and those are reserued to his booke. We must thinke that he would not vnder the name of *demonstrations* haue tendered them to his Maiesty but that they are very forcible and strong. But if his *Posteriours* had had their due when time was, he would haue learned Aristotles *Posteriours* the better, and then we should haue had better *demonstrations* then he hath sent vs. This great talke of *vrgent and forcible reasons* and *demonstrations* maketh me to remember what once M. Philpot martyred in the time of Queene Marie in great heat of spirit answered to D. Chadsey: [1] *Afore God*, saith he, *Ye are bare arsed in all your religion.* So it is M. Bishop amidst all your *reasons* and *demonstrations* you lie open to the whippe; it is an easie matter to scourge you: there is nothing in them but vncertainty and vntruth. But what your demonstrations are we shall here see by the forerunners of them: for here you will *note out of your booke some old reprooued errors which the Protestants doe reuiue & auow as the very sinnewes of their gospell.* Goe on, M. Bishop; let vs heere what it is that you haue to saie. *Martin Luther the ringleader of the new pretended reformation.* You mistake at the very first, M. Bishop: Christ was the ringleader: the followers were his Apostles: Luther was only the man or rather one of the men by whom God did aduertise vs what Christ and his Apostles had said and done. We looked into the Gospell and into the writings of the Apostles, and we found it to be true which they said, and therefore did embrace it. We neither beleeued Luther nor any other more then we will beleeue you, M. Bishop, if yee shew vs the same authority that Luther did. It is not therefore a pretended reformation which we haue receiued but a reformation indeed, whereby our church hath beene purged and clensed from these idolatries, and abhominations

[1] *Acts and Monuments the 12. examinat. of M. Philpot.*

hominations which by the vsurpation and tyrannie of Antichrist had beene brought into it. But what is it wherewith M. Bishop is so offended towards Luther? forsooth *he laied for the ground of his religion that man is iustified by only faith.* This was Luthers heresie, and yet this was of old the doctrine of the church of Rome, that [b] *a man is iustified gratis, that is,* [c] *freely, for godamercy, for nothing, and that by the grace of God through faith without the workes of the law.* Whereupon S. Hierome a member of the church of Rome saith that [d] *the Apostle manifestly sheweth that iustice or righteousnesse consisteth not in mans merit, but in the grace of God who without the workes of the law receiueth the faith of them that beleeue.* Or if that be not plaine enough, Ambrose will make it more plaine: [e] *Freely, because by faith only they are iustified by the gift of God.* And again; [f] *Without labour or any obseruation we are iustified in the sight of God by only faith.* And againe: [g] He *that beleeueth in Christ, doth freely by faith only receiue forgiueneesse of sinnes.* So saith Basil: [h] *A man is to know himselfe voide of true righteousnesse, & that he is iustified by only faith in Iesus Christ.* So Chrysostome, [i] *He hath iustified vs: vsing no workes thereto but requiring faith only.* Let these serue insteede of many places and authours that might be alleaged: for by these it may appeare that in the auncient church it was taken for no errour to say that a man is iustified by faith only. Yea but *S. Austin the most sound witnesse of antiquitie testifieth that it was an errour sprong vp in the Apostles daies, that only faith is sufficient to saluation.* But what is that to Luther or to vs? For we affirme that *faith only is sufficient to iustification*, not that *faith only sufficeth to saluation:* yea Luther himselfe vpon the epistle to the Galathians hauing in the foure first chapters at large discoursed that faith only auaileth to iustification, yet vpon the fifth chapter determineth that [k] *faith only is not sufficient to saluation.* Albeit to auoid ambiguity it must be vnderstoode that *saluation* is sometimes taken for the beginning of that benefite of God, as where

[b] *Rom.3.24. 28.*
[c] *Rhem.Test. explication of certaine words, &c. in the end.*
[d] *Hieron.adu. Pelag.lib.2.*
[e] *Ambros. in Rom.cap.3.*
[f] *Cap.4.*
[g] *In 1. Cor. c.1.*
[h] *Basil. hom.de humilit. animi.*
[i] *Chrysost.in Rom.hom.7.*
[k] *Luther in ep. ad Galat.c.5.*

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it is said of *Zacheus*: [l] *this day salvation is come to this house*, and of the woman that washed Christs feete, [m] *thy faith hath saued thee*. Sometimes it is taken for the perfection and accomplishment thereof, as where it is said, [n] *Ye are kept by faith vnto saluation which is prepared to be shewed in the last time*. *Saluation* the first way is all one in effect with iustification, and in that sense it is true that faith only sufficeth to saluation. But vnderstand it as vsually and commonly we doe for the full accomplishment of saluation in the life to come, and then faith only sufficeth not to saluation, but out of faith by the regeneration of the spirit issueth sanctification and that [o] *holinesse without which*, as the Apostle saith, *no man shall see the Lord*. The kingdome of God is an [p] vndefiled inheritance; he will not bring into it [q] *fornicators, adulterers, drunkerds, couetous persons, &c.* [r] *nothing that is filthy or vncleane shall enter there*. And therefore whom God saueth, he *calleth with a* [s] *holy calling*; he [t] *powreth vpon them the cleane waters (of his spirit) that they may be cleane*, [u] *he giueth them a new heart and putteth a new spirit within them*, and [x] *causeth them to walke in his statutes, and to keepe his iudgements*, and thus [y] *maketh them meete to be partakers of the inheritance of the Saints in light*. [z] Our churches therefore vniuersally doe determine that not only faith to iustification, but also [a] *repentance from dead workes*, [b] *newnesse of life*, [c] *the putting off of the old man and putting on the new*, the performance of those [d] *good workes which God hath prepared for vs to walke in* are necessarie to saluation, not as the cause or merit of saluation, but as a part of that worke of God whereby he hath appointed to bring vs to that saluation which he of his owne mercy doth bestow vpon vs. Whereas therefore the auncient church condemned them that out of the Apostles wordes of *iustification by faith without workes* did gather that [e] *so long as they beleeued in Christ, albeit they did exill, and liued wickedly and lewdly, yet by faith onely they might be saued*; we doe the same that the auncient church,

[l] *Luc.19.9.*
[m] *Luc.7.50.*
[n] *1. Pet.1.5.*
[o] *Heb.12.14.*
[p] *1.Pet.1.4.*
[q] *1.Cor.6.9.*
[r] *Apoc. 21.6.27*
[s] *2.Tim.1.9.*
[t] *Ezech.36.25.*
[u] *vers. 26.*
[x] *vers.27.*
[y] *Col.1.12.*
[z] *Harmony of Confess.sect 9.*
[a] *Heb.6.1.*
[b] *Rom.6.4.*
[c] *Eph.4.22.*
[d] *Iph.2.10.*
[e] *August.l 83. quæst.76.& de fide & oper. cap.14.*

did, and out of the same epistles of Peter, Iames and Iohn, principally as S. Austin saith written against such, as also out of all the rest of holie Scripture we preach against that desperate and diuellish fancie, neither doth any part of our doctrine, truely vnderstood, giue patronage or allowance to any such men. Now therefore, M. Bishop, we see as touching this first article of your proofes, that there was no fault in M. Luthers doctrine, but the default was in the weakenesse of your head, that could not rightly vnderstand the same. Albeit I will not imagine your weakenesse to be such as that you vnderstand vs not in this behalfe, but rather thinke that maliciously and wilfully you renue your old slaunders, which to your iust confusion haue beene answered and repulsed a thousand times.

6. W. Bishop.

Another principall piller of Fryer Luthers *religion consisteth in deniall of free will; wherein he iumpeth with the old rotten heretike* Manes, *of whom the* Manicheans were named.

Test. Socr. l. 1. hist. cap. 17. S. Hier. præf. lib. cont.

R. Abbot.

It is strange that you should vse the name of *Frier* so scornefully, M. Bishop, being a birde of the Popes hatching, your most holy father, and knowing that Luther was a Frier with you onely, but with vs no Frier. But I see your stomacke towards your Frier Iesuites is not appeased, and you do but take the occasion of Luthers name to giue them some aspersion of reproch. As for the matter of your obiection, it putteth me in mind of a prety peece of folly & ignorance shewed by Frier Campian in the very same matter, who challenging our church for the denial of *free will* opposeth Austen against vs, and asketh *how we can like of him?* And why? [a] *scripsit de libero arbitrio libros tres:* forsooth *he wrot three bookes concerning free will.* He had read the title of those bookes, but knew not the contents thereof

[a] *Camp. rat. 5.*

thereof, and as the foole that thinketh euery horse that he seeth to be his masters horse, so finding there the name of *free will* he dreamed that it was the same *free will* that his Master the Pope had recommended to his defence. You are euen vp and downe the same man : you haue heard that the Manichees denied *free will* and in your ignorance you imagine that that must needes touch vs who likewise stand in deniall of *free will*. But the reader will easily see your foolish malice if he vnderstand that in the auncient church there were two sorts of heretickes concerning this point of *free will*. The Maniches denied *free will* : the Pelagian heretickes affirmed it, and both were condemned by the Catholicke church. The Manichees denied *free will* in sinne and in the committing of euill : the Pelagians affirmed a power and ablenes of *free will* for the performance of righteousnesse and doing of good. Now I pray you, M. Bishop, tell vs without dissembling whether you doe not thinke that Frier Bellarmine and your selfe doe more neerely iumpe with the Pelagians in the affirming of *free will*, then Frier Luther and we doe with the Manichees in the deniall of it. Surely in that meaning wherein the Manichees denied *free will*, wee affirme and teach *free will*, and in that meaning did Saint Austin write his bookes of *free will* purposelie against the Manichees : wee deny *free will* onelie in that meaning wherein first the Pelagians and since the Papists haue affirmed it, in which meaning Saint Austin also notably wrot against it. The heresie of the Manichees was most wicked and blasphemous. The beginning of it as touching this point was by occasion of the question, *Vnde malum? whence was the originall or beginning of euill or sinne?* They held, as the Marcionites had done before them, that there were from euerlasting [b] two contrarie powers, the one good which they called *the good God*; the other euill, which was termed by them *gens tenebrarum : the nation of darknesse*. They dreamed that betwixt these two

[b] *August har. 46. ad Quodvultd. & in Psal. 140.*

contrary powers there hapned a great fight, and that the good god fearing the approching of the nation or power of darkenesse dispersed and thrust abroad the members and parts of his owne substance, and mingled the same with the substance of the power of darkenes, & that thus the parts of the good god were imprisoned by the contrarie euill power, and that heereof was the creation of the world. Therefore they taught that man consisteth of these two contrary substances; that he hath a *good soul* which is a part of the substance of the *good god*, & an *euill soule*, which with the flesh and bodie is of the substance of the *power of darkenesse*, and that that *good soule* being a part of the good god, is holden prisoner by the *euill soule*, and by it forced and compelled to doe all euill. So that sinne, they saied, came not in at first by mans will, but by condition of creation, and that it was a part of the very substance of man by that predominating part that is in him of the nation of darkenesse. And so now whatsoeuer sinne hee committeth, it is not by any free power or disposition of his owne will, but it is his very essence and substance and part of his created being. By reason whereof they taught that that which is euill in man is not capable of any alteration, neither can of euill be made good, but the part of the good god receiuing enlargement, the rest as a seuerall and distinct substance remaineth perpetually euill, and by the verie essence and being of it necessarily abideth that that is. Now of this blasphemous fancie, they made excuse for themselues, when they committed any villanie or wickednesse: ‘ *Non ego peccaui sed gens tenebrarum: It is not I that haue sinned, but the nation of darkenesse; whatsoeuer sinne we are saide to doe, it is the nation of darkenesse that doth it.* This was the Manichees deniall of *free will*, and can any man vnderstanding this, but woonder at the brasen face of this impudent Sophister that durst offer it to the kings most excellent Maiestie, that Luther and we in the denial of *free will, doe iumpe with the heresie of the Manichees?* The truth

* *August. in Psal. 140.*

truth is, M. Bishop, that a very great leape will not set you so farre from the heresie of the Pelagians, as we without a iumpe, thankes be to God, are from the heresie of the Manichees.

Against this heresie of the Manichees, the catholicke church determined by the word of God, as we doe, that God in the beginning created man righteous and iust in all integritie and perfection of innocencie according to [d] *the image and likenesse of God himselfe*: that he left him in the hand of his owne counsell, and in the power of his owne *free will*, [e] that so the image of God might the more cleerely shine in him, in that albeit hee could not by condition of nature which he was to receiue of God, yet he might by election of will wherein he was left to himselfe be after a sort good of himselfe, and hauing the Lordship and rule of all other things committed vnto him he might hereby first shew himselfe lord and ruler of himselfe. They shewed that man being thus left to himselfe and to his owne *free will* did voluntarily and by his owne *free will* fall away from God by harkening to the suggestions of the wily serpent, and hereby diuested himselfe of all the glory and happinesse whereto God had enstalled him in his creation. This they teach to haue beene the originall and beginning of mans sinne, whereby he destroied his owne *free will*, and [f] *by applying it voluntarily to that that was euill, lost the power of applying it to that that is good*; so that now [g] *freewill being captiue to sinne auaileth to nothing but only to euill*. Therefore as by free will was the beginning of sinne, so they hold that in *free will* is also the continuance thereof, because man though of himselfe he doe nothing but sinne, yet sinneth not by anie inforcement or compulsion, but of his owne accord; of his owne free and voluntary disposition; hauing so corrupted himselfe as that he hath no will to will any thing else but that that is euill. Which corruption notwithstanding hath not so destroied nature but that it hath left therein, [h] *posse habere fi-*

[d] *Gen.* 1. 26. 27.

[e] *Tertul. cont. Marcion. lib.* 2.

[f] *Aug. Hypogn. lib.* 3.

[g] *Cont.* 2 *epist. Pelag. l.* 3. *ca.* 8.

[h] *August. de præfest. sanct. cap.* 5. *& cont. Iulian. Pelag. lib.* 2.

dem, posse habere charitatem : a capacity of faith, a capacity of loue and all other vertue and goodnesse whereto it was first created. Which capacity and possibility of nature whilest they declare against the Manichees, they speake indeed sometimes somewhat obscurely of *free will*, but as in the Catholick church where they presumed they should not be vnderstood but according to the rule of faith that [i] all goodnesse is of God, and that to [k] beleeue and to will that that is good proceedeth only from his gift, and therfore that whatsoeuer they said concerning free will to righteousnes should be conceiued of [l] *will not free of it selfe but made free by the grace of God :* whatsoeuer they said of natures possibility to faith and loue, yet [m] *to haue faith and to haue loue* should be conceiued to be the worke of *grace*. And becausse they acknowledged the corruption of nature by originall sinne, they thought no man would vnderstand them but by this rule, [n] *who is able to change nature, but hee that first created nature ?* becausse they praied to God for infidels and vnbeleeuers that they might repent and be conuerted vnto God, [o] they thought no man would conceiue but that to repent and turne to God did arise from the grace and gift of God. There were [p] none yet sprung vp that did openly oppugne the grace of God, and therefore they spake the more securely, and bent themselues mainely to the conuincing of those heretickes against whom they spake. But when Pelagius the hereticke arose and began to affirme and teach that man hath of himselfe and in his owne nature a *free will* to that that is good, that he hath in himselfe a freedome of will to consent to the Gospell and calling of God, the same church that before resisted the Manichees, resisted him also, and hauing affirmed against them that *free will* was the beginning of sinne, and that by *free will* man still committeth sinne denied against him that mans will is [q] *free as touching righteousnes or in that that is good, vntill he be made free by him that hath said; If the sonne shall make you free,*

[i] *Iam.1.17.*
[k] *Phil.1.29. & 2.13.*
[l] *Cont. 2. epist. Pelag. l.3.c.7.*
[m] *De prædest. sanct. cap.5.*
[n] *Ambr. ep.16.*
[o] *August. de prædest sanct. cap.14.*
[p] *Ibid.*
[q] *Cont. 2. epist. Pelag. l.3.ca.8. & de corrept. & grat. cap.1.*

free, then are yee free indeed. Now by reason of this heresie the fathers thencefoorth began to speake more warilie, and somewhat to abbridge and correct that libertie which either they themselues or their forefathers had vsed before. Whereof we haue very notable and pregnant example in S. Austin himselfe, who before the arising of the Pelagians doubted not to say, [r] *By iustice we are commanded, and by nature we haue power to loue spirituall things.* But afterwards considering of those words, he saith, [r] *It may bee asked, why I saide, by nature we haue power, and not rather, by grace we haue power. But the question was against the Manichees concerning nature. And surely this doth grace labour, that what our nature being corrupted cannot doe, it may being healed be able to doe by him that came to seeke and to saue that that was lost.* In another place he had said; [t] *All men may beleeue God, and turne themselues to the keeping of his commandements if they will.* But afterwards he expoundeth himselfe, [u] *Let not the Pelagians thinke that it is spoken to their meaning. For it is true that all men may so doe if they will, but the will is prepared of the Lord, and so furnished with the gift of charitie, that they may be able to that they will: which there was not spoken because it was not necessarie to that question that was in hand.* Again he saith, [x] *It is in the power of man to chãge his will to work that that is good:* but he correcteth it; [y] *sed ea potestas nulla est nisi a deo detur: but that power is none at al except it be giuẽ of God, who by framing or preparing the wil giueth that power.* Now these sayings of the fathers against the Manichees being intended to shew what either nature was in it selfe by creation, or being corrupted what it is capable of by grace, the papists lay hold of & thereby labour to vphold the doctrine of the Pelagians that in this corrupted state of man there is remaining a free wil to assent vnto the calling of God, which is a faculty of nature it selfe, & not the worke of the grace of God. But the rigour of the sayings of those former fathers we must regard to qualifie by Saint Austins example and rules, and by the

[r] *De duab. animab. cont. Manich. ca. 13.*
[r] *Retract. lib. 1. cap. 15.*
[t] *De Genes. adu. Manich. lib. 1. cap. 3.*
[u] *Retract. lib. 1. cap. 10.*
[x] *Cont. Adimant. cap. 26.*
[y] *Retract. lib. 1. cap. 22.*

the declarations of them to whom God gaue occasion by the heresie of the Pelagians further to enquire and search the verity of that point. Albeit in the handling of that question it shalbe shewed, God willing, that they themselues haue sufficiently freed themselues frō that which the Papists so much labour to hang vpon them. But as touching the testimonies of the fathers which he alleageth here they nothing hurt vs. Socrates reporteth it for the Manichees heresie to deny free will. We say it was so, and that it was Pelagius his heresie to affirme it: we disclaime them both. Hierome in his preface of his bookes against the Pelagians alleageth that it was the dotage of the Manichees to take away free will, and in the bookes themselues disputeth against free will in that meaning wherein we deny it; saying [z] that *this is mans greatest righteousnesse to thinke that what soeuer vertue he hath, it is not his own but the Lords that hath giuen it*; [a] *that all the good we doe is Gods*: and by occasion of the words of the Lord by the prophet Ieremy, [b] *I wil plant them that they may not be rooted out & I will giue them a hart to know me*: [c] *If*, saith he, *minde and thought be giuen of God, and the vnderstanding of the Lord grow from the roote of him that is to be knowen, where is then that so proud vaunting of free will?* As for S. Austin no man hath troden the path for vs so plainly and fully as he hath done. He condemned the Manichees: so doe we. He condemned the Pelagians and in the Pelagians condemned the Papistes; and so do we. He saith, and out of him the Arausicane Councell saieth: [d] *No man hath of his own but only to lye and to sinne.* [e] *What is a man by that that is his owne, but what he is by his owne sin?* As for free will [f] *it readily runneth and floweth to naughtinesse*, but [g] *free will to loue God we lost by the greatnesse of Adams sinne*, [h] *who abusing his free will lost both himselfe and it also*: so that now [i] *men labour*, saith he, *to finde in our will some good that is our own which we haue not of God; but how to finde it, I know not.* No more doe we. If M. Bishop can find it let him weare it; but whether he

[z] *Hieron. adu. Pelag. lib. 1.*
[a] *Lib. 2.*
[b] *Ier. 24. 6. 7.*
[c] *Hieron. ibid.*
[d] *Aug. in Ioan. tract. 5.*
Consil. Arausic. 2. cap. 22.
[e] *August. ibid. tract. 49.*
[f] *De præd. & grat. ca 9.*
[g] *Epist. 107.*
[h] *Enchir. ca 30.*
[i] *De peccat. mer. & remiss. l. 2. c. 18.*

can

can or not we shall finde when we come to the handling of that question. In the meane time let him know that this obiection of his is but the olde rotten cauill of the Pelagian heretickes against the Godly Bishops and pastours of Christes church, whom for denying their *free will* they [k] *reproched with the name of Manichees*, and said that they themselues mianteined *the Catholicke faith against the profanenes of the Manichees*. To whom S. Austin answered as we nowe answere him: [l] *The Manichees deny that to man being made good the beginning of euill was by free will. The Pelagians say, that man being now euill hath free will sufficiently to keepe the commandement that is good. The catholicke church reprooueth them both, saying to the one, God made man iust, and to the other, If the Sonne shall make you free then are yee free indeed.* This *freedome* we teach as he doth, as heereafter shall appeare.

[k] *Cont. duas ep. Pelag. l. 2. c. 1.*

[l] *Ibid. cap. 2.*

7. W. Bishop.

One Proclus *an erronious* Origenist *taught that sinne was not taken away in Baptisme, but onely couered, as is recorded by that holy man, and auncient Father* Epiphanius. M. Perkins (*in the name of the church of England*) *affirmeth in like manner, the originall sinne remaineth still, and raigneth in the regenerate, albeit it is not imputed vnto them.*

Epiph. hær. 64. *Perkins Pag. 29.*

R. Abbot.

Heere M. Bishop vnwares hath sheathed a sword in his owne sides, citing vnder the name of Proclus the hereticke the wordes of *Methodius* a Catholicke and godly bishop against the heresie of Proclus and his master Origen: He saw in Epiphanius, *sequuntur nunc Procli verba, Heere follow now the wordes of Proclus*, and his lips hanging in his light, he could not see but that all the discourse following was the wordes of Proclus; whereas the words of Proclus are but a few lines in the beginning, and then

followeth by Methodius a large refutation thereof. Now M. Bishop though against his will acknowledgeth that the author of those words, howsoeuer hee mistooke him, did teach the very selfe same that M. Perkins and the church of England doth concerning sinne remaining after baptisme, as indeed he doth. It followeth therefore by M. Bishops owne acknowledgement against his will that the doctrine of the church of England by the testimonie of Methodius bishop of Tyrus, approoued also by Epiphanius, is the auncient doctrine of the Catholicke church, and that the doctrine of the church of Rome which M. Bishop defendeth is new, hereticall and false. Now for satisfaction of the Reader, it is to be obserued that Proclus according to the doctrine of Origen did teach that the soule had a being before the body, and being first created did sinne, and for the sinne that it did was put into the body as into a prison, and that this is to be vnderstood in
[a] *Gen.*3.21. that it is saide after mans fall that God made them [a] garments of skinnes, that is, saide they, he made them bodies. Therefore he held that this body being the prison of the soule subiect to sinne and corruption, and seruing but for the vses of this life is not that body wherewith we shall rise againe, but that it shall be another of more diuine sub-
[b] *Epiph.hær.64.* stance, a more excellent and spirituall body. To this [b] Methodius answereth and sheweth by the Scripture that man consisted of body and soule before his fall, and that the body was compartner with the soule in sinne: that the bodie cannot be saide to be *the prison* of the soule, for a prison is a place of restraint, but the bodie is not to the soule any restraint, but rather the instrument and helper thereof in sinne: therefore that the *coates of skinnes* could not import the making of bodies, but did rather import the clothing of the body with mortalitie and death, and that for that cause God did cast man out of Paradise that he might die. The end whereof in part should be, that in death the euill and sinne which man had wrought in himselfe might die

die also, and vtterly be abolished; for as when a tree groweth in a wall, saith he, the spreading of the roots thereof dissolueth the stones and ioints of the wall, but the stones being taken asunder, and the tree being pulled out, the wall is of the same stones repaired and made new againe: euen so sinne hauing spread it rootes largely in man, by dissolution of death is also dissolued, and the body euen of the same parts is raised vp againe immortall, sinne being wholly and vtterly destroied: Then follow the wordes which M. Bishop intendeth. *For so long as the body liueth and vntill it die, sinne must needes liue withall, inwardly hiding in vs the rootes of it, albeit outwardly by the checkes of chastisements and admonitions it be bridled and refrained. Otherwise it would not fall out that after our illumination wee should do vniustly if sinne were wholly and clearely taken from vs. But now after that we beleeue, and are baptised, we are often found in sinnes. Wherefore certaine it is, that sinne is now holden short and laied a sleepe by faith, that it may not bring foorth noisome fruits, but it is not pulled vp by the rootes. And now indeed we hold backe our euil thoughts and lustes as the sprouts thereof, that no bitter root springing vp may infect vs, not suffering the buds that are closed vp within to be opened, to come to any growth, instruction of doctrine euen as a bill hewing and cutting at the deepe springing roots. But then the very thinking of naughtines shal be done away. And to say the truth, this speech wanteth not testimonie of the Scripture: for the apostle acknowledgeth that the root of sin is not wholly taken from men, saying, I know that in me, that is, in my flesh dwelleth no good thing: for to wil is present with me, but not to do that good: For I do not the good that I would, but the euill that I would not that do I; Now if I doe that I would not, it is not I that doe it, but sinne that dwelleth in me. I delight then in the law of God as touching the inner man, but I see another law in my members rebelling against the law of my minde, and holding me captiue vnto the law of sinne which is in my members. So farre is sinne from being quite and vtterly rooted out: for it is not yet quite dead*

but liueth, &c. Thus Methodius plainly affirmeth, that sinne is not wholly taken away in baptisme; that it is kept in, and the sproutes and weedes thereof are still nipped and checked, but yet the roote still remaineth hidden within, and that it dieth not till we die, and prooueth it by the same wordes of the Apostle which we alleage to the same purpose. Now where were M. Bishops wits, that could thinke that these words were the words of Proclus? Surely he read the place very earely in the morning before he had his full sleepe; or late after supper when hee should haue beene in bedde, or else he borrowed them from some of his masters the Iesuites, who make as little conscience what they say as he doth. We must be content with such stuffe as he can yeeld vs: the broker can offer no other wares then he himselfe hath receiued of the merchant. Yet we are beholding to him, that if we had wanted testimonie of antiquitie to prooue that sinne remaineth after baptisme, as God willing he shall see heereafter we doe not, hee would doe vs the pleasure to furnish vs therewith. [c] *That is a true proofe and without contradiction,* saith Ireneus, *which bringeth tokens for the testifying of it frõ the very aduersaries themselues.* But we will not thanke him for it, because his purpose was to abuse and deceiue his Reader, and by the name of an hereticke to traduce that which was indeed the professed doctrin of the church.

[c] *Iren. adu. her. lib. 4. cap. 14.*

Now he was very loth that one lie should goe heere alone without a fellow, and therefore to make vp the paire, he saith that M. Perkins in the name of the church of England affirmeth, that *originall sinne* remaineth still and raigneth in the regenerate, whereas M. Perkins and the church of England affirme onely the *remaining*, and not *the raigning* of sin in the regenerate, according to that that the wordes of Methodius haue before described. So M. Perkins plainly saith [d] *that that very power or strength whereby sinne raigneth* in man, *is taken away in the regenerate*, and in the page quoted by M. Bishop affirmeth nothing

[d] *Pag. 27.*

thing to the contrarie. Wee take for our direction the wordes of the Apostle, [e] *Let not sinne raigne in your mortall body.* Whereupon S. Austin saith, [f] *He saith not, let not sinne be, but let not sinne raigne in your mortall bodie, so long as thou liuest sinne must needes be in thy members: let the raigning thereof yet be taken away: doe not what it biddeth thee.* Thus M. Bishop euery way confoundeth himselfe, and can finde no place where to stand sure.

[e] *Rom.6.12.*

[f] *August. in Ioan.tract.41.*

8. W. Bishop.

Iouinian *was accounted a monster by S.* Augustine, *for defending honest marriage to be of equall vertue, and merit with chaste Virginitie: and saith further that this heresie was so sottish and fleshly; that it could not deceiue any one learned priest, but onely some few simple and carnall women. Yet this our English champion blusheth not to affirme that mariage is not onely equall, but better also in diuers respects then Virginitie.*

Aug.retra.li.2. c.22.& hær.82. Perkins Pag.163.

The same old reprobate heretike, barked also against approoued feasts and fasting daies, so doe most of our Ministers at this time.

R. Abbot.

Hitherto M. Bishop hath fought with stickes and strawes, but now he beginneth to fal somwhat handsomely to his weapon. The name of Austin carieth with it some preiudice, and some men happily may be somewhat mooued therewith in this matter, but yet we must consider that this note was long since giuen of him, and he by his bookes of Retractations hath confirmed it: [a] *Whilest he spake of many matters it befell him which the holy ghost saieth by Salomon: In much speech a man cannot escape some fault:* Againe it is here to be remembred that the question is not here of S. Austins opinion, but of the Doctrine of the church of Rome. And albeit S. Austin doe say that the same church of Rome did [b] *mightily resist Iouinian*, yet how the matter

[a] *Gennad. Catal.illust.viror.*

[b] *August. Retract.li.2.c.22.*

went we shall better vnderstand by S. Hierome, who being then a member of the church of Rome was a principal agent in that cause. [c] Erasmus obserueth truely that Austin chargeth Iouinian with some errours whereof Hierome maketh no mention; who would not haue passed by them if Iouinian had taught them; whereby it *appeareth*, as he collecteth, that Austin had *neither read Iouinians bookes nor Hieromes bookes against Iouinian, but only by peoples rumours & talke had learned that that he knew concerning Iouinian*, and therefore he must needes be the lesse able to iudge or report concerning him. Moreouer it is not to be omitted that Epiphanius in his catalogue of heretickes hath not reckoned Iouinian amongst them though liuing at the same time. He maketh mention of some not as heretickes but as being [d] *in nor of the church*, only terming them too *remisse and soft, who did perswade women to giue ouer & to reiect the accomplishing or continuing of that course of perfection*, as it was called, in virginitie and single life. Whereby certaine it is that this imputation of heresie was laied vpon Iouinian by the priuate opinion of some, and not by the vniuersall iudgement of the church. As for S. Austin to yeeld him his due he hath euery where spoken holily & reuerently concerning mariage as it became him to doe of the sacred ordinance and institution of almightie God; neither doth he by commendation of virginity breake foorth into those rude and vndecent speeches thereof, as Hierome and some other haue done; and indeede as touching the verie state of mariage and virginity there is little or no difference betwixt him and vs. We acknowledge the gift of virginity and continency to be an excellent gift, but yet a gift of externall preeminence with men, not a gift of internall and spirituall righteousnesse towards God; of those good giftes [e] *vnde facias bene, non quæ te faciant bonum*, *whence thou maiest doe good, not which themselues doe make thee good*, as S. Austin distinguisheth, or according to another distinction, of those good things [f] *quibus*

[c] *Eras. in argument. lib. adu. Iouinian. apud Hieron.*

[d] *Epiph. hær. 61 Apostolic.*

[e] *Aug. de temp. serm. 236.*

[f] *De peccat. mer. & remiss. lib. 2. cap. 18.*

bus male vtitur malus, non quorum malus vsus esse non potest; which an euill man vseth euilly, not whereof there can be no ill vse at all. Such are the gift of prophecy, the gift of miracles, the gift of tongues and interpretations of tongues, which not by prerogatiue in hauing them, but by righteousnes in vsing them doe yeeld a man acceptation and reward with God. For euill men many times haue these gifts and such other like, and are no whit the better for them; they excell other men thereby and are not the neerer towards God. So amongst the heathens the *Vestal virgins* consecrated to idolls, and in the gospell the *foolish virgins*, if we will so take it, had [g] *the integrity of the flesh*, but with God it yeelded them neither fauour nor defence. If therefore the question be betwixt the maried and the vnmaried we briefely affirme that *cæteris paribus*, *all other things being equall and alike*, single life addeth nothing to the one with God which mariage detracteth from the other. S. Austin supposeth as the verie ground of his assertion that in virginitie and single life there is greater holinesse and deuotion towards God by being withdrawen from the businesses and troubles of the world, that the vnmaried [h] *doe thinke vpon him more plentifully; doe serue him more instantly; doe please him more attentiuely.* Which being supposed we will not denie but that in rewarde with God the preferment shalbe giuen to single life. For euen amongst the maried he that doth the greatest seruice shall haue the greatest reward, [i] *euery man his wages according to his worke.* So therefore if virginitie exceed mariage in duetie and seruice vnto God, it shall exceed also in recompence of reward: but if mariage equall virginitie in the worke of God, we doubt not but reward of glorie shalbe to both alike. Indeede single life in it selfe yeeldeth more conuenient liberty to serue God, and therefore where it may be holily obserued is to that end iustly to be preferred. But mariage and single life are not alwais & to euerie man the same that they are considered in themselues to be

[g] *S. August. ho-mil. 35.*

[h] *De sanct. virginit. cap. 27. Et de bono coniug. cap. 11.*

[i] *1. Cor. 3. 8.*

be. For sometimes the vnmaried *careth more for the things of the world* then the maried doth: and sometimes the maried *careth more for the thinges of the Lord* then doth the vnmaried. The maried many times is not so much distracted by occasions of the world as is the vnmaried by wrastlinge and striuing to preserue the integrity of the flesh.[k] [k] *Neither mariage nor single life, saith Nazianzene, is such by nature as can either tye vs wholly to God or the world, or wholly keepe vs from either, but it is the minde that rightly vseth the same and worketh either of them to vertue.* As single life is not alwaies a helpe, so is not mariage alwaies a hinderance to holinesse & deuotion towards God, as when in maried estate and in the affaires of this world the heart is framed to the rule of the Apostle,[l] *that they which haue wiues be as though they had none, and they which weepe as though they wept not, and they that reioyce as though they reioyced not, and they that buy as though they possessed not, and they that vse this world as though they vsed it not*; and men being bodily emploied here vpon the earth, yet cary their affections so as that their[m] *conuersation is in heauen.* In a word we are to conceiue the same of single life and marriage as of freedome and bondage. Freedome is a more blessed and happie state, and giueth a man greater power of himselfe to bestow himselfe to the Lords vse, and therfore the Apostle saith to him that is bound,[n] *If thou maiest be free vse it rather.* And yet the same Apostle telleth vs that[o] *in Christ Iesus there is neither bond nor free*: that neither freedome commendeth a man the more to God, nor bondage any whit empeacheth him, but either of them is most preferred with God as either of them is best bestowed to the glory of God. So is the freedome of single life[p] *more blessed* then the bondes of mariage; and yet where mariage is alike in seruice of God, it is alike accepted with God as single life. This doctrine Iouinian taught in Rome against the superstitious conceipt that was then in growing that there can be no holinesse in mariage comparable to the holinesse

[k] *Greg. Nazia. in laud. Greg. Orat. 25.*
[l] *1. Cor. 7. 20.*
[m] *Phil. 3. 20.*
[n] *1. Cor. 7. 21.*
[o] *Gal. 3. 23.*
[p] *1. Cor. 7. 40.*

holinesse of professed single life. He affirmed that albeit in respect of the encumbrances and troubles and cares that are incident to mariage virginitie were to be preferred, (in regard whereof he himselfe also liued a single life as [q] Austine witnesseth) yet that virginitie of it selfe is a thing meerely indifferent, and with God for it selfe hath no preferment before mariage; and by the examples of holy men and holy women mentioned in the scriptures, patriarches, prophets, priests and their wiues perswaded that mariage was as holy an estate and as pleasing vnto God as single life. He taught by the words of the Apostle that it *is* [r] *better to marry then to burne*, better openly to enioy husband or wife then secretly by incontinency to be distracted in minde or to giue place to Satans temptations by filthy lust. His preaching tooke that effect in Rome that sundry both men and women hauing professed virginitie and continency did thereupon leaue the profession thereof and betooke themselues to mariage, as both [s] by Hierome and Austin doth appeare. Iouinian had written somewhat of this and other matters, which [t] *some brethren*, as Hierome calleth them, sent from Rome to him being then as it seemeth in Palestina. Presently Hierome with all indignation and stomacke writeth his two bookes against Iouinian, and to say as the truth is whilest he yeelded to much to his owne humour for commendation of virginity he wrote very basely and prophanely concerning mariage. *Pammachius* a gentleman of Rome, a friend of Hierome, a man of great learning, lighting vpon those bookes and taking view of them, conceiuing what offence and dislike they were likely to breed to their authour [u] laboured to suppresse them, that before they went any further abroad Hierome himselfe might better consider of them and amend what might seeme amisse. But it would not be: abroad they went, and raised in Rome exceeding obloquies and clamours against him, and scant any speech of any hereticke had beene more odiously taken, as may seem

[q] *Aug. her. 82.*

[r] *1. Cor. 7. 9.*

[s] *Hieron. adu. Iouin. lib. 2. sub finem. August. her. 82 & Retract. l. 2. cap. 22.*

[t] *Lib 1. adu. Iouin.*

[u] *Hieron. epist. poster. ad Pammach. pro lib. adu. Iouinian.*

by that that Hierome himselfe reporteth then was that that he wrote. Heereupon he wrote to Pammachius an [x] *Apologie* of those bookes to amend the matter so much as might be, and to qualifie the offence taken. In that Apologie it appeareth that some there were indeed that blamed Iouinian, but euen they also blamed him: *Et me & aduersarium pariter reprehendunt*; *They finde fault with me, and with mine aduersarie also.* And what was the occasion of all this tragedie? What was the matter for which he susteined all this displeasure? [y] *Grande piaculum*; *euersæ sunt ecclesiæ*; *orbis audire non potest si virginitatem diximus mundiorem esse quàm nuptias: A hainous offence: it is the ouerthrow of the church; the world cannot endure to heare it, that I should say that Virginitie is of greater purity and holinesse then maried estate.* Behold heere, M. Bishop, the church of Rome greatly offended to heare it, and accounting it as a strange doctrine, that *virginitie* should be affirmed to be a more *holy estate of life then mariage is*. Yea & before that time the same church of Rome in cõdemning the Montanist heretickes condemned this opinion also. For the Montanists did not onely reiect [z] *second mariage*, as Austin noteth of them, but they accounted mariage [z] wholy to be a more prophane and vnholy state then might stand with the perfection of Christian life. This Origen vpbraideth them with as saying thereby in effect, [b] *Come not neere me, for I am holy, for I take no wife, but am a Nazarite of God*; a man vowed and separated vnto God; which the same Origen elsewhere calleth [c] *an immoderate or vnreasonable puritie and cleannes*. The affection of which puritie and cleannesse euen by bishops and priests was censured by the auncient Canons which in the church of Rome did goe vnder the name of the Apostles. [d] *That if any bishop or priest did dismisse his wife vnder pretence of pietie or deuotion towards God, he should be excommunicate, and if he did therein persist, should be degraded.* It was therefore an odious matter, and plaine heresie in the opinion of the auncient

[x] *Hieron. ad Pammach. Apolog. pro lib. adu. Iouinian.*

[y] *Ibid.*

[z] *August. de heres.*
[z] *Tertull. exhortat. ad Castitat.*

[b] *Origen. apud Pamphil. in Apologia.*
[c] *In Math. tract. 24.*

[d] *Concil. tom. 1. Can. Apostol. cap. 6.*

auncient church of Rome to attribute any such prerogatiue and speciall title of holinesse to single life. And it is heere to be obserued that [e] Hierome in his Apologie to Pammachius seeking to excuse himselfe by examples of others who had saide the like as he had done, alleageth amongst others Tertullian, whereas Tertullian being then become a Montanist wrote that for which he citeth him euen by his owne confession [f] against the doctrine of the church of Rome. And verily Erasmus truely saide, that [g] *in the writings of Hierome are to be found euen the same words that are vsed by Tertullian, who for the same had beene condemned for an heretick.*

[e] *Hieron. ad Pammach. Apolog. pro lib. adu. Iouinian.*

[f] *Catal. eccles. Script. in Tert.*

[g] *Erasm. adu. Albert. Pigh. de virginit.*

Now whereas M. Bishop saith out of Austin that Iouinians opinion *was so sottish and fleshly that it could not deceiue any one learned priest but only a few simple and carnall women*, he racketh the words of Austen too far. He saieth indeed *nec ad deceptionem aliquorum sacerdotum potuit peruenire : it could not preuaile to the deceiuing of any priests*, but he doth not say that it preuailed *only with a few simple and carnall women*, as M. Bishop saieth. For, that this is very vntrue and false it may appeare very manifestly by this, for that Pammachius would not haue had that regard to preserue the estimation & credit of Hierome against Iouinian only in respect of a few simple and carnall women. Againe by Hierome himselfe it is as manifestly disproued, who againe and againe repeateth that [h] *Iouinian had may disciples; that many agreed to his opinion; that many did runne after him:* [i] *that gentlemen gaue him the way, that the wealthy stroked him on the head.* And for a few simple and carnall women he would not haue vsed that expostulation; [k] *What? was there neuer a country in the whole world that would receiue the preaching of pleasure* (so he speaketh reprochfully according to his manner) *but that which the doctrine of Peter had founded vpon Christ the rocke?* Againe he speaketh generally to the Citie of Rome as calling the same to repentance for this matter, [l] *Thou mighty city, thou city commended by the*

[h] *Hieron. adu. Iouinian. lib. 2. sub finem.*

[i] *Tibi nobiles deuia cedunt : tibi diuites osculantur caput.*

[k] *Ibid.*

[l] *Ibid.*

wordes of the Apostle thou maiest by repentance auoide that curse, which our Sauiour threatneth thee in the Apocalypse. &c. Thus he maketh a great cry of a small matter, but testifieth by the way that that city, that church that was commended by the voice of the Apostle approoued the doctrine of Iouinian, and disclaimed his assertion to the contrarie that *virginity is of greater purity and holinesse then maried estate.* Now whereas S. Austin saieth that Iouinians opinion found no approbation or allowance with anie Priests or Bishops, or as M. Bishop saieth with *any learned priest*, it is certaine also by S. Hierome that Austen therein was deceiued, and that there were bishops also and priests at that time of the same minde. It is true indeed that [m] Siricius then bishop of Rome with some few other of his owne consort, in a priuate meeting of their owne did giue sentence against Iouinian, and togither with him condemned [a] *Auxentius*, *Genialis*, *Germinator*, *Felix*, *Prontinus*, *Martianus*, *Ianuarius*, *Ingeniosus* of the church of Rome, teaching the same that he did, as did also [o] *Sarmation* and *Barbatianus*, monkes of the church of Millaine; so vntrue is it which M. Bishop saith, that there were none of Iouinians opinion but onely a *few simple and carnall women*. But that Siricius was a noueller and a man in this case partially and priuately affected, by whom it may seeme likely that Iouinian tooke occasion to teach in Rome that that he did teach; the same Siricius being noted to be the [p] first that forbad mariage to Priests & Deacons, and [q] caused them that were maried to liue as [r] they then did, separated from their wiues, directly contrary to the [r] apostlicke Canon before mentioned, & to the determination of the Nicene Councell, [t] yeelding to the iust and godly motion of Paphnutius against that vniust and vnlawfull separation. The grosse and absurd ignorance of that Siricius appeareth in that he applieth [u] against mariage those things which the Scripture speaketh to commend *holinesse*, as if there were vnholinesse in that which the

[m] *Siric. decret. epist. 2. Concil. tom. 1. & apud Ambros. ep. 80.*
[a] *Ibid.*
[o] *Amb. ep. 82.*
[p] *Polyd. Virgil. de inuent. rerum. lib. 5. ca. 4.*
[q] *Chron. Carion. in Theodos.*
[r] *Hieron. Apol. ad Pammach. pro l. adu. Iouin.*
[r] *Cano. Apost. 6 Concil. tom. 1.*
[t] *Socrat. hist. lib. 2. cap. 8.*
[u] *Siric. epist. decret. 1. Concil. tom. 1.*

the holy Ghost calleth [x] *the vndefiled bed.* Against mariage he vseth the wordes of the Apostle, [y] *they that are in the flesh cannot please God,* as if Abraham, Isaac, Iacob and the other righteous Fathers did not please God because they were maried, wheras the Apostle saith generally to al the faithful, as wel maried as vnmarried, [z] *Yee are not in the flesh but in the spirit, because the spirit of God dwelleth in you.* But notwithstanding that sentence of Siricius the church of Rome still continued to approoue the doctrine of Iouinian, as appeareth by those things that I haue alleaged out of Hieromes bookes against Iouinian, which were written after the denouncing of that sentence. Yea and that not onely the Laitie but the Clergie also persisted afterward in that opinion against the sentence of Siricius is manifest by Hieromes owne wordes in his Apologie: [a] *Albeit Secular men be offended that they are put in lower degree then virgins, yet I woonder that Clergy men, Monkes and such as professe continencie, doo not commend that which they themselues doe. They keepe themselues from their wiues that they may imitate the chastitie of virgins, and will they haue it that married women are the same that virgins are?* Now what will M. Bishop say to this? We haue here the Clergie, the Monkes and such as vsed continencie in the church of Rome, receiuing it still against the opinion of their vnlearned bishop: *idem esse maritatas quod virgines; that married wiues are the same that virgins are;* that betwixt mariage and virginitie there is no diuerse degree or difference in the sight of God. For although by the tyranny of their bishop as it seemeth they were compelled to forgoe the company of their wiues, yet they continued still to approoue the same doctrine that formerly had beene receiued in the same church. Yea and it is plaine that there were bishops also of the same opinion that Iouinian was. For when Vigilantius soone after mainteined the same that Iouinian did, Hierome crieth out, [b] *Proh nefas, episcopos sui sceleris dicitur habere consortes: O abhominable*

[x] *Heb.13.4.*
[y] *Rom.8.8.*
[z] *Ibid.vers.9.*
[a] *Hieron.ad Pammach. Apolog. pro lib. adu.Iouinian.*
[b] *Hieron.adu. Vigilant.*

matter, he is said to haue bishops partakers with him in his wicked opinion: as he in stomacke termeth their defence of mariage. And of those bishops he declareth that *they would order none ministers or deacons, but onely such as were first married:* so farre were they from M. Bishops conceit of mariage or virginitie, because they saw the filthy and abhominable fruites that vowed virginitie did vsually bring foorth, whereof [c] Hierome himselfe elsewhere and before him [d] Tertullian did complaine. Yea so farre were they from approouing the opinion of Hierome or of Siricius the bishop of Rome, as that directly and flatly in their practise they opposed themselues against it. And whereas Hierome to reproue these bishops by examples of other churches, alleageth to that purpose the *churches of the East* (beside thē no other but the churches of Rome) [e] Socrates who wrote his storie within lesse then twentie yeeres after the death of Hierome, affirmeth of those Easterne churches which [f] Epiphanius also an Easterne bishop euen in the time of Hierome of some parts thereof, acknowledgeth that *the priests and bishops thereof were not forced by any law to forbeare their wiues, and that many of them whilest they were bishops had children borne vnto them by their lawfull married wiues*, so little regard had they of the sentence and decree of Siricius, and so little conceit of any such holinesse in virginitie aboue mariage, but that the holy calling of a bishop or priest standeth indifferently agreeing with either of them. Thus, M. Bishop, I haue wrested your weapon out of your hands, and haue charged it very strongly against your selfe, and haue made it plainly to appeare that in denying virginitie to be of any greater *holinesse, vertue or merit with God then marriage*, we teach the same, that not Iouinian onely with a few simple and carnall women, but generally the church of Rome, not the inferiour sort onely, but the nobles and great men, not the Laity onely but the Clergy of that church, the monkes and such as professed continencie, and the bi-

shops

[c] *Hieron. ep. ad Demetriad. & ad Eustoch.*
[d] *Tertul. de veland. virg.*
[e] *Socrat. hist. lib. 5. ca. 21.*
[f] *Epiph. her. 59. Catharor.*

shops also of that chuch before, and of other churches then approoued and receiued, and that the Papists now teaching the contrarie, doe contrarie the receiued doctrine of the auncient church of Rome.

But it further offendeth M. Bishop that M. Perkins doth not only equall mariage to virginitie but affirmeth that *in some respects* it is to be preferred before it. But I maruell that he should be offended there at, seeing it is a case vsuall that the lesser good *in some respects* is to be preferred before the greater. The philosopher is to be preferred before the husbandman, and yet if we respect the tillage of the land the husbandman is to be preferred before the philosopher. Gold is better then iron, yet if we respect the shooing of a horse, iron for that vse is better then gold. Therefore albeit it be granted to M. Bishop that virginitie absolutelie is better then mariage, yet nothing hindereth but that mariage in some respects may be better then virginity. The respects that M. Perkins alleageth are two. One in case of incontinency. And doth M. Bishop doubt but that to them that cannot conteine mariage is better then virginitie, when the Apostle so plainlie saith: [g] *It is better to marrie then to burne?* The other respect is for that *marriage is the seminarie of the Church and common wealth, and bringeth foorth a seed of God for the enlarging of his kingdome.* And is M. Bishop so mad as to make question of this? surely virginitie to this respect availeth nothing, and therefore in this respect mariage must needs be better then virginitie. But somewhat he must needes say: he wilbe still biting and gnawing though it be to the hurting of his owne teeth.

[g] 1. Cor. 7. 9.

Now whereas he saith further of Iouinian that he *barked at approoued feasts and fasting daies:* as touching the former of them it appeareth not by Hierome or Austin or any other of that time that he spake any thing at all, and therefore I passe by it as a tale. As touching the other point of *fasting* S. Austin reporteth that he taught, [h] *non prodesse*

[h] Her. 82.

prodesse ieiunia et a cibis aliquibus abstinentiam, that fastes and forbearing of certaine meates are things not auaileable. Wherein if his meaning were, as appeareth it was, to condemn set and certaine daies of standing fastes, with that superstitious fancy that it should be a matter of merit with God those daies to forbeare some certaine kindes of meate more then other, he erred nothing therein, neither did he teach any other thing then the Church of Rome, as hath beene before shewed, had long before taught against the heresie of Montanus; which heresie although it were at the first resisted by that church, yet such was the serpentine slippernes thereof through the goodly colours and faire shewes of church-order and deuotion that were set vpon it, as that afterwards it found very easy admittance and entrance, and those opinions which Tertullian as a Montanist defended against the church, and namely the church of Rome, the same were approued and receiued in the same church: so as that Hierome though he confesse that Tertullian being fallen to the heresie of Montanus wrot diuers books *specially against the church*, yet doubteth not somtimes to auouch some points by him mainteined in those bookes, and to speake as he speaketh: yea and Austin in setting downe the heresie of the Montanists mentioneth for heresies, setting aside his *Paracletus*, but onely one point conteined in the same bookes. But what he wrote as touching fasting, it went smooth and currant, and Iouinian, Aerius, Vigilantius, and others for speaking against the same were reiected as heretickes though they saied nothing in that point but what the church of Rome had saied before. Now sith the ministers of our church say the same and by the same arguments that the auncient church of Rome did, as I haue before declared, it is manifest that the apostasie is not on our part but on M. Bishops', who now by the authority of the church of Rome mainteineth that which the hereticke of old mainteined and defended against the church. The ministers of our church condemne not fa-

sting

sting but superstitious fasting. We blame men [i] *non quia abstinent sed quia hæreticè abstinent*; *not because they abstaine but because they abstaine with an heretical opinion of their abstinence*, as Bernard well speaketh though he apply it ill. We obserue fasting daies as we call them, by abstinence from flesh (indeed not *fasting daies* but * *fish daies*, as the law doth rather call them) not with any opinion either for the day or for the abstinence of any holinesse therein, or religion towards God, but onely by way of obedience to politicke lawes, and dutie to our prince, the law it selfe professing it selfe to be onely * *politickely intended*, and disclaiming *superstition to be maintained in choise of meats*, and denying this *eating of fish, or forbearing of flesh to be the seruice of God, otherwise then are other politicke lawes*. But otherwise we teach *fasting*, either priuate or publicke, not tied to daies or times, but to occasions either priuate or publike, whereby God calleth vs thereunto, the church then vsing it owne libertie, to appoint to that end either those *fishdaies* or any other daies, one or more, or many as occasion shall require: as when lately by reason of Gods visitation, there was a fast commanded ordinarily to be obserued through the whole land, that praier and supplication might be made the more instantly vnto God for the auerting and turning away of his fearefull hand, and as [k] Tertullian by way of obiection testifieth, that at that time in the catholicke church the bishop vpon like occasions did solemnely call the people to a fast. And this fast consisteth in abstaining either wholly or extraordinarily, but not in abstaining from such & such meats. For when the time of repast cõmeth, we hold it al one towards God, whether a man eate fish or flesh, because [l] *euery creature of God is good and nothing to be refused, if it be receiued with thankesgiuing*, and [m] *nothing that entreth into the mouth defileth a man*. As for the popish fast we hold it senseless and absurd, and like to the fasting of the old [n] Manichees. A man filleth himselfe with marmolets, and suckets, and

[i] *Bernard. in Cant. ser. 66.*

[*] *Anno 5. Eliz. cap. 5. Abridgment. in ships & shipping. 13.*

[*] *Ibid.*

[k] *Tertul. de ieiunio.*

[l] *2. Tim. 4. 4.*

[m] *Mat. 15. 11.*

[n] *August. de morib. Manich. lib. 2. cap. 13.*

and preserues, and fine cakes and sugred wines, onely he forbeareth flesh, and he is a Catholicke, he hath done a good and meritorious worke, he hath kept a fast to God, and this is a satisfaction for his sinnes. A poore labouring man comming from his worke eateth a peece of salt bacon, and feedeth very barely and sparely thereof, and this man is an hereticke forsooth, he is vncleane and must for this cause be condemned to the fire. This is an hereticall deuise, destroying true faith, entangling the conscience, and hauing no shew of any warrant or testimony from the word of God. S. Austin concerning fasting telleth vs, that [o] *pondering the matter in his minde, hee findeth that there is precept of fasting in the writings of the Euangelists and Apostles, but,* saith he, *what daies to fast, or not to fast I doe not finde it set downe by any precept of Christ or his Apostles.* Therefore he sheweth that the old libertie of the church was this, to abstaine [p] *more or lesse as euery man either will or can:* because *fasting,* as Marcianus told Auitus, *is in a mans owne power and at his owne will:* and because [r] *there is nothing found written as touching it,* saith *Socrates, it is manifest that the Apostles left free power to euery mans will and discretion in that behalfe, without necessitie or feare to doe that that should be good.* To be short, the auncient church of Rome acknowledged the same, that according to the obseruation of the Apostles, [t] *men are to fast at their owne discretion, according as euery mans times and occasions doe require: that the Apostles imposed no yoke of prescript and standing fasts that should in common be performed by all: that to performe a fast certorum eduliorum exceptione, with exception taken to certaine meats,* as the Montanists did except against *flesh, and broth, and wine,* sauoreth very strongly of heathenish superstition. They acknowledged therefore in this point of fasting the same that we doe.

[o] *Aug. ep. 86.*

[p] *Cont. Faust. Manich. l. 30. cap. 5.*

[q] *Theod. hist. sanct. patrum. cap. 3.*

[r] *Socrat. hist. lib. 5. cap. 21.*

[t] *Tertul. de ieiunio.*

As for feast daies we doe not know that we haue reiected any that are certainly found to haue beene approoued in the auncient church of Rome. If the bishop of Rome

Rome haue since superstitiously multiplied the number of them, and added new and false conceits of worship and grace, and holinesse vnto them, and haue thereby laied a yoke of vassalrie and bondage vpon the church, we haue libertie to shake off his yoke, neither are we heerein to be charged with varying from the old church of Rome, but it is the new church of Rome it selfe that hath varied from the old. If any Ministers amongst vs doe impugne anie feast-daies by publicke authoritie established in our church, they beare their blame, but whereas M. Bishop saith, *the most of our ministers*, the reason is, because *lippientibus oculis singularis lucerna numerosa est.*

9. W. Bishop.

Vigilantius *was sharpely reproued by Saint* Hierome, *in a booke written against him, and hath beene euer since vnto this day, esteemed a wicked hereticke, for denying prayer to Saints, and honour to be done vnto their Relikes: And yet, what point of Doctrine is more currant among the Protestantes, then this?*

R. Abbot.

M. Bishop saith that Hierome doth sharpely reprooue Vigilantius, but saith Erasmus and very iustly, [a] *he doth so raile at him as that I cannot but wish that hee had shewed more modestie. I would he had dealt by argument onely and had forborne railing speeches.* Hierome himselfe elsewhere calleth *Vigilantius* [b] *sanctissimum prsbyterum, a very holy priest,* and indeed in that that he wrote for ought appeareth he wrote nothing but what might well beseeme a very religious and holy man, being offended [c] *to see,* as he saith, *in a manner the customes of the heathens vnder pretence of religion brought into the church.* One thing that Vigilantius reproued was their custome of *Vigils* & night watches at the sepulchers or relikes of martyrs, vnder pretence whereof

[a] *Eras. in arg. lib. adu. Vigil.*

[b] *Hieron. ep. ad Paulin.*

[c] *Apud Hieron. adu. Vigilant.*

many lewd acts & villanies were done, yet *Hierome* maintaineth the same very stiffly. But that notwithstanding the church afterward not following the mind of Hierome but rather of Vigilantius [d] abolished those Vigils, & made it to appeare that Hierome had more contentiously then iudiciously written in defense of them. Yea and by Hierome himselfe it appeareth that bishops there were that tooke part with Vigilantius, and approoued that which he taught, whose names if they were knowne might happilie carry as great authority as S. Hieromes doth. But to come to the matters that M. Bishop speaketh of as touching praier to Saints Hierome saith nothing at all. He only reasoneth that the Saints or martyrs doe pray for vs, but saith nothing to argue that we should pray to them. Neither did Vigilantius question that matter: for whereas he demaundeth, *be the soules of martyrs alwaies present at their ashes, least if any come to pray, they should not heare them being absent*, he meaneth it not of any comming to pray to the martyrs themselues, but to pray to God at the places of their Relikes. For they vsed to pray to God [e] *ad memorias martyrum, at the memorial places of the martyrs*, which was a thing by Iulian the Apostata obiected to the Christians: [f] *you call vpon God at the sepulchers of your martyrs*, who would rather haue obiected praying to the martyres themselues if he could so haue done. But hence they grew in time to conceiue superstitiously that the martyrs hearing them at their relikes praying to God did recommend their praiers by their intercession and make them more acceptable vnto God. But that praier to Saintes was no doctrine publickly receiued in the auncient church is hereby infallibly and ineuitably prooued, for that the auncient church though not at the first yet afterwards three or four hundred yeeres after Christ did in their publicke liturgie and seruice pray for the Saints. Now to pray for them and to pray to them cannot possibly stand together. That they prayed for them appeareth by Epiphanius his defense thereof

[d] *Erasm. in arg. lib. adu. Vigilant. Bellarm. de cultu sanct. cap. 17.*

[e] *Aug. de vnit. eccles. ca. 16.*

[f] *Cyril. cont. Iulian. lib. 10.*

thereof against Aerius, [g] *for the righteous, for the fathers, the patriarchs, the prophets, the Apostles, Euangelists, martyrs, confessours, Bishops, Anchorites and the whole ranke of the church.* In what meaning they did it shall appeare hereafter, but thereby it is manifest that as yet there were no praiers publickly vsed to the saints. And although the fathers indeed doe in diuers places seeme to giue countenance to this superstition whilest caried away with popular and plausible deuotions they search not how it may stand with other points of Christian faith, yet sometimes vpon occasions they so cut away the whole foundation thereof as that the rest of the building necessarily must fall after to the ground. For whereas the end of praying to Saints is to vse their mediation and intercession vnto God, they doe so challenge this office of intercessiue mediation wholly and onlie vnto Christ as that the Saints must needes be wholly excluded from any part thereof. And to this purpose S. Austen notably speaketh [h] *He is the priest who being entred within the veile, solus ibi ex his qui carnem gustauerunt interpellat pro nobis, is only he of them that haue tasted the flesh that there maketh intercession for vs. In figure whereof amongst that first people and in that first temple only the high priest entred into the holy place and all the people stood without.* And therefore against Parmenian the Donatist hereticke making the Bishop *a mediatour betwixt God and the people* he saieth of the Apostle S. Iohn: [i] *If he should thus say, If anie man sinne, you haue me a mediatour with the father, and I make intercession or I entreate for your sinnes, what good and faithfull Christian would endure him? who would looke vpon him as the disciple of Christ and not rather as Antichrist himselfe? He is the only and the true mediatour that maketh intercession for al and none for him. Neither doth Paul make himselfe a mediatour betwixt God and the people. &c. For if Paul were a mediatour, then should the rest of his fellow Apostles be so also and so there should be many mediatours, and the reason of Paul himselfe should not stand good whereby he saied, There is*

[g] *Epiph. her. 75.*

[h] *August. in Psal. 64.*

[i] *August. cont. Epist. Parmen. lib. 2. cap. 8.*

one God and one mediatour betwixt God and man. &c. Which peremptory assertion of one mediatour for intercession vnto God doth vtterly ouerthrow whatsoeuer M. Bishop can alleage for defense of praier vnto Saints. And that this was the auncient faith and religion of the church it is plaine by Origen also teaching [k] *that God only is to be worshipped and that our praiers are to be tendered only to the only begotten sonne of God, that he as the high Priest may bring the same to his God and our God. &c* : that *Christians did make their praiers only to God by Iesus Christ* : that [l] *although the angells be so diuine and excellent in nature as that the scripture sometimes calleth them Gods, and they doe bring vnto vs the gifts of God, yet that we are not for all that to worship them or to doe diuine honour vnto them, but that all praiers, all supplications, and intercessions and thanksgiuings are to be destinated vnto God the Lord of all things, by the high priest the liuing word who is God greater then all angells : that no man should dare to offer praiers but only to the Lord God (who alone is abundantly sufficient for all) by our sauiour the sonne of God.* Thus that first church knew no other praiers but such as we make according to the example of all the Saints and faithfull from the beginning of the world *only to God by Iesus Christ.* They would not pray to angels : much lesse to Saints. The Councell of Laodicea decreed [m] *ne precarentur angelos, that men should not pray to angells* : much lesse did they intend that men should pray to men. But the Papistes doe both and that for a reason and vnder a pretence which the auncient church condemned in them that alleaged it, [n] *that by angells* and Saints *they must make way for themselues to the fauour of God,* [o] *euen as by nobles and great men we procure accesse vnto the king*, not considering, as Ambrose wel noteth, that as it is treason vnder the colour of seeking accesse to the king by a noble man to giue vnto the noble man the honour of the king, so it is also treason to God & much more vnder pretence of seeking fauour and accesse to God by Saints and angels to giue

[k] *Origen.cont. Celsum.lib.8.*

[l] *Lib.5.*

[m] *Theodoret. in Coloss.cap.2.*

[n] *Theod.ibid.*

[o] *Ambros.in Rom.cap.1.*

giue vnto them the honour of God by making praiers vnto them. Yea the auncient church although they did so conceiue [p] that the angells as *ministring spirits* and *messengers* doe exhibite our praiers vnto God by the high priest Iesus Christ, and doe themselues praie for them that are committed vnto them, yet did resolue that [q] *invocare angelos, to make praiers to the angells* themselues is an iniurie vnto God, that the angells stand well affected towards vs for doing as they doe, to worship God only, and that [r] as when the body is moued, the shadow is also moued, and which way the body goeth the same way the shadow goeth, so hauing God fauorable and gratious to vs by our due and faithfull worshipping of him and calling vpon him, the angels which are but as his shadowes are likewise friendlie and louing to vs, so that we neede not seeke to gain them by any other meanes. And if they thus resolued against praier to angels (expressly contrary to the doctrine of the church of Rome) much more should we resolue the like against praier to Saintes of whom we are taught that [s] *they know vs not:* of whom we haue no ground to be perswaded that they haue that entercourse betwixt God & vs, as the angels haue, or do any thing for vs as the angels doe: in whom because they are but onely men, Tertullians argument concerning Christ must needes take place: [t] *If Christ be onely man, why is he in our praiers called vpon as a mediatour, seeing the inuocation of a man is of no force to yeeld saluation?* Being onely men they can be no mediatours for our praiers: our praying to them can be no whit helpefull to our saluation. Vigilantius therefore in denying prayer to Saints, if he did so, brought no heresie or new opinion into the church, but onely sought to reduce it to the true faith and integrity of the first church.

[p] *Orig. cont. Celsum lib. 8.*

[q] *Lib. 5.*

[r] *Lib. 8.*

[s] *Esa. 63. 16.*

[t] *Tertul. de Trinitate.*

As touching the other point concerning Reliques, Vigilantius was iustly offended, not that the same were honoured, but that they were honoured too much, and in other sort then honour was due vnto them. The fault that he

he found, was that men did *worship them*, and for that
[u] *Hieron. ad Riparium.* cause he rightly termeth them that so did, [u] *cinerarios & idololatras, ashmongers and idolaters.* For if worship and seruice of religion be not due to the Saints themselues, as of praier we haue already seene, then surely it cannot be due to their offals and reliques, to ashes and rotten bones, much lesse to their shooes and shirtes, and girdles, and such other base and paltrie stuffe. And plainly it appeareth that little reckoning they make of preseruing religion entire and pure, who of worship which is peculiar to God onely, doe make so common a thing as to bestow it thus indifferently not to men onely, but to mens bones, and to euery thing that by occasion hath beene vsed by them.
Now this worshipping of reliques Hierome wholly dis-
[x] *Adu. Vigil.* claimeth, saying to Vigilantius: [x] *Thou madde man, who hath at any time worshipped the martyrs? who hath gone about of a man to make a God?* plainly shewing that to worship the reliques of martyrs, is of men to make them Gods. Yea
[y] *Ep. ad Ripar.* he saith further, [y] *We doe not adore or worship the reliques of martyrs, no nor the Sunne, nor Moone, nor Angels, nor Archangels, nor Cherubim, nor Seraphim, nor any name that is named in this world or in the world to come, least we should serue the creature rather then the creatour, who is blessed for euer.* So that as touching the maine point Hierome subscribeth to Vigilantius, that the reliques of martyrs are not to be worshipped, and therefore his testimony is cleere and pregnant against the Papists, who doe professe the *worshipping of reliques*, and therein as he saith, are guiltie of *worshipping the creature in steed of the creatour who is God blessed for euer.* Now what conscience is there in these men to alleage Hieroms contention against Vigilantius to giue a colour to their *worshipping of reliques*, when the words of Hierome do so flatly and expressly condemne the same? In all their bookes Hierome still is opposed against vs, when in the point for which he is alleaged, he saith no otherwise then we say. Nay he doth not onely say but by

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the Scripture prooueth it also. For to shew that martyrs and reliques of martyrs be not to be worshipped he bringeth the example of [z] Peter, who when Cornelius fell downe at his feete and *worshipped him, lifted him vp by the hand, and said vnto him, Arise, for I also am a man.* If Peter were not to be worshipped, much lesse are we to worship a relique of Peter. If Peter saide to him that worshipped him, Stand vp, for I am but a man, surely Peters relique if it could speake, would say to the worshipper therof, Stand vp, for I am not a man, I am but ashes, I am but a bone, much lesse therefore worship me: thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him onely thou shalt serue, whom onely & no other he worshipped and serued whose relique I am, and himselfe by no meanes would be worshipped. [a] *God teacheth vs,* saieth Origen, *that he himselfe onely is to be worshipped: other things are nothing or whatsoeuer they are, they are woorthy of honour onely, not of deuotion and worship, which can be yeelded to no creature but with iniury vnto God.* M. Bishop indeed heere nameth onely *the honour of reliques,* willing perhaps by a more tolerable word to qualifie the groseneſse and odiousneſse of the matter, but the thing that they contend for, is [b] *cultus & veneratio reliquiarum*; *the worshipping of reliques*; *tumulorum & sepulchrorum adoratio: the adoring and worshipping of sepulchers and reliques.* If it were but the *honouring* of them, the case were much different, [c] *Euery one that worshippeth a thing, honoureth the same, but euery one that honoureth doth not worship*, saith Austin. But they contend to haue reliques to be worshipped, which not wee onely, but Hierome himselfe flatly pronounceth to be idolatry.

[z] *Act.* 10. 25. 26.

[a] *Orig. cont. Cels. lib.* 1.

[b] *Bellar. de Reliquiis sanct. c.* 1 *Coster. Enchir. cap.* 13.

[c] *August. cont. serm. Arianor. cap.* 23.

Now whereas Hierome denieth that any such adoration or worship was done to reliques, as if Vigilantius had therin calumniously slaundered them of whom he spake, it is manifest that Hierome was deceiued, and that Vigilantius had iust cause to say as he did. For Gaudentius a bishop of the same time that Hierome was, is found to

haue reproued some as guiltie of [d] *idolatry*, for that to the reliques of their dead and at their sepulchers, they made *feasting sacrifices*, according to the manner of the Gentiles. Which Bellarmine cannot denie, but onely qualifieth the matter, that they were but some few, [e] *some few perhaps*, saith he, *did sacrifice to the dead.* But whether they were few or more that skilleth not; certaine it is that Vigilantius had cause to speake of some that did *worship* to the sepulchers and reliques of the dead. And that they were not a *few* onely but many, Saint Austen shall be a witnesse against Bellarmine in behalfe of Vigilantius. [f] *I know* saith he, *that there are many worshippers of sepulchers: that there are many that very luxuriously drinke ouer the dead, and making feastes to their carkeises*, (their reliques) *doe burie themselues vpon them that are buried, and repute this their surfeiting and drunkennesse for a matter of religion.* Hierome then was to blame so to raile at Vigilantius as if he had deuised a tale of his owne head, in reprooving some that were worshippers of the reliques of martyrs and dead men, seeing it appeareth so plainly by Gaudentius and Austin that there were many that did so. Hierome therefore acknowledging that this ought not to be done, iustifieth the speech of Vigilantius, and condemneth the papists for doing that which Vigilantius by Hieromes owne testimonie did iustly reproue.

[d] *Gaudent. in Exod. tract. 4.*

[e] *Bellar. de Reliq. cap. 4.*

[f] *August. de moribus eccles. lib. 1. cap. 34.*

Another thing that Vigilantius disliked, was the setting vp of tapers and candels lighted at noone day. [g] *We see almost the custome of the Gentiles*, saith he, *vnder colour of religion brought into the church that the Sunne-broad shining numbers of tapers are lighted*, &c. *These men doe great honour to the martyrs, to thinke that they must haue light yeelded them by paltrie candels, when as the lambe who is in the middest of the throne with all the brightnesse of his maiesty doth giue them light.* Which doth not seeme to be the speech of an hereticke, but rather of a faithfull Christian man, duely and rightly perswaded of the blessed state and portion of

[g] *Hierony. adu. Vigil.*

of the Saints. The setting vp of candels lighted in the day time, Tertullian noteth to haue beene a matter of solemnitie amongst the heathens, and denieth that Christians did [h] *lucernis diem infringere, by candle light goe about to disannull the day.* Now if Ambrose thought fit to abolish those night watches and mortuarie feastes before spoken of, not onely for the auoiding of surfeiting and drunkennesse, but also [i] *quia illa quasi parentalia superstitioni gentilium essent simillima, because the same in the manner of parentall sacrifices were altogether like to the superstition of the Gentiles:* might not the same reason sufficiently excuse Vigilantius for being offended to see men by their *day-candle-light* to set before them the custome of the heathens to be followed in the church: especially seeing the Councell of Eliberis had before flatly decreed that men [k] *should not by day-light set vp tapers or candels lighted in their church-yardes?* But the best is, that Hierome himselfe disclaimeth this also: [l] *We,* saith he, *doe not tiend candels by day-light, as thou without cause accusest vs, but that by the comfort heereof we may delay the darkenesse of the night, and may watch by the light thereof,* &c. Onely he addeth: *If any of ignorance or simplicitie either secular men or deuout women, of whom we may truely say, They haue the zeale of God but not according to knowledge, doe this in the honour of martyrs, what losse is that to thee?* This he goeth about preposterously to excuse by the example of Marie Magdalens annointing our Saviour Christ, and by their intent of deuotion, peruerting to that purpose a sentence of the Apostle, as if he had left euery man in such matters to follow his owne minde, and as if it were not amisse, which as we haue heard S. Ambrose so much disliked, to doe that to martyrs now in deuotion, which was done to idols before time. But yet we see heere that what Hierome denieth to be done by himselfe or others such as himselfe: what he imputeth to ignorance and simplicitie, and confesseth to be done by none but such as haue the zeale of God, but not according

[h] *Tertul. Apolo. ca. 35.*

[i] *Aug. Confess. lib. 6. cap. 2.*

[k] *Concil. Eliber. Can. 34.*

[l] *Aduer. Vigil.*

to knowledge, and seeketh rather to excuse then to defend, that now the Papists haue taken vp, and vse it as an important ceremonie of religion, to burne day-light with candels before their Saints and reliques; and yet pretend Hieroms authoritie and example for the doing of it. Surely M. Bishop we might woonder at this, but that we know a bad cause can haue no better defence, and such gamesters as you are cannot thriue but by false play.

As for the true honour that is due to the Saints and their relicks, we refuse not to yeeld it vnto them. The honour that is due vnto their bodies is *the* [m] *solemne honour of buriall*, as Origen termeth it, [n] *not to leaue their relickes or dead bodies naked, or carelesly to cast them on the ground, but decently and in good order to couer or hide the same in the bosome of their mother, the depth of the earth,* and there [o] *to let them alone and not to remoone their bones.* Thus the patriarchs and righteous men of the old Testament honoured their dead concerning their bodies: and although Iacob and Ioseph embracing by faith the promise of God concerning the land of Canaan and [p] desiring euen in buriall to enioy the same as the figure and pledge of the heauenly and euerlasting rest, were according to their desire caried thither to be buried, yet where they were once buried, there they were suffered to rest. They were not first buried in one place & after remoued to another, but [q] Iacob was caried thither presently vpon his death, and Iosephs body being in the meane time [r] embaumed and put into a chest was [s] taken with the children of Israel when they went out of Egypt and afterward [t] buried in the lot of his inheritance, and thencefourth they were no more medled with: men kept no peeces of them, they vsed no worship or deuotion towards them, they made no pilgrimages to them, they sought not for any help or comfort by them. And although afterwards by the [u] bones of Elizeus a great miracle was wrought by raising a dead man to life againe, yet were they not hereupon taken vp and caried

[m] *Origen.cont. Celsum.lib.8.*
[n] *Cyril.cont.Iulian.lib.10.*
[o] *2. King.23.18*
[p] *Gen.47.29. & 50.25.*
[q] *Gen.50.7.*
[r] *Gen.50.25.26*
[s] *Exod.13.19.*
[t] *Iosuah.24.32.*
[u] *2.Kin.13.21.*

caried with solemnitie from one place to another, but where they were buried there they remained still. Thus in the new testament the bodie of [x] Iohn Baptist was honoured, and the body of [y] Steuen, and no otherwise. Neither do we find any examples that make for thē who cary not the bodies of Saints from one place to another at first to bury them, but digge them vp from the places where they are alreadie buried: nor doe remoue them to anie speciall place sanctified by the promise of God as the land of Canaan was, but thinke by them to make the places more holy to which they remooue them; which Iacob and Ioseph intended not. How much lesse shall we finde anie examples to iustifie the Papistes who digge vp dead bodies, & either whole or peecemeale keepe them vnburied to be caried about and shewed, and seene, & touched, and kissed, and honored by gifts and offeringes, and worshipped, and praied vnto and resorted vnto for health and helpe with sundry other deuotions whereby they vse them rather as the idols of the heathen then as the dead bodies of holy men? The word of God taught the church of old that [z] *precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his Saints*, and yet hath it not taught any such deuotions towards them, and we are dainty to admitt that for an honour of Saints and their relickes whereof we finde neither precept nor example either amongst the patriarkes and prophets of the old Testament, or the Euangelists and Apostles of the new.

[x] *Mat.14.12.*
[y] *Act.8.2.*
[z] *Psal.116.15.*

Now as for other monuments either of apparell or other implements that haue beene in the vse & occupation of martyrs and holy men, to keepe the same as memorialls and tokens of remembrance and loue, may easely be yeelded to the satisfaction and pleasing of humane fancy, as [a] Antony the eremite kept a garment of Paul the eremite his predecessor, and [b] Athanasius the like of the same Antonie. But to keepe the same by way of deuotion, and to lay them vp in houses of religion, to haue worshippe done

[a] *Hieron. in vita Pauli Erem.*
[b] *Athanas. in vita Antonij.*

vnto them it can be accounted no other but plaine heathenisme and idolatry. But both in this kinde of relickes and in the relicks of Saints bodies such haue beene the notable impostures and cosinages and villanies wherewith the diuell by the factours of the church of Rome hath abused and deluded the world, as that they haue iustly therby deserued to be holden accursed both of God and men; neither can we account M. Bishop and his fellowes any other but a crue of most impudent and shameles men, who after so plaine discouery thereof doubt not still to persеuere in the defense of such horrible abhomination. As for any further honour to Saints or Relickes beside that we haue spoken of, we know none, but to commend their vertues, *to* [c] *follow their good conuersation, their faith and patience*, their constancy in [d] *not louing their liues vnto death for the testimony of Iesus Christ*; but no more are wee to worship them then we our selues looke to be worshipped of others hereafter, or then they worshipped others that were before them. To conclude what Cyrill of old taught against the calumniations of Iulian the Apostata concerning the martyrs, the same wee teach, and neither more nor lesse [e] *that they are to be honoured with perpetuall praises, but neither doe we call them gods, neither are we woont to worship them.* The doctrine therefore that is currant amongst the Protestants is yet found to be no other but what of old was currant in the true church, and therefore the imputation of apostasie lieth not vpon vs, but vpon them, who contrary to the doctrine and practise of the auncient church worshippe Relickes, and pray vnto them, and though they say not, as Bellarmine excuseth the matter, [f] *O holy Relickes pray for vs*, (and no more doe they say to their Images, *O holy Images pray for vs*) yet as they worship Images so worship Relickes, and as they pray to Images, so pray to Relickes, euen as to them whose Relickes and Images they be and in both commit that idolatry which antiquity would haue accursed to hell fire.

[c] *Heb.6.12, & 13.7.*
[d] *Apoc.12 11.*
[e] *Cyril.cont. Iulian. lib.6.*
[f] *Bellar.de Reliq.Sanct. ca.2.*

10. W. BISHOP.

10. W. Bishop.

In like sorte, one Aerius *to the* Arrian *heresie, added this of his owne*; That we must not pray for the soules of our friendes departed; *as S.* Augustine *hath registred. And doe not all Protestants embrace and earnestly defend the same?* *Aug. ad. q. vult. haref. 53.*

R. Abbot.

I should haue woondered, M. Bishop, if you had omitted praier for the dead, being the faireſt flower in the Popes garden, a maine supporter of his kingdome and of the third round of his triple crowne. Soone would a great part of your occupation grow to decay if ye did not hold men in this perswasion that the dead stand in neede of the praiers and deuotions of them that are aliue. As for vs it seemeth very strange to vs that if it be so no mention should be made thereof amongst so many examples as are set downe in holy scripture of them that haue died, wiues from their husbandes, parents from their children, children from their parents, kings from their subiects, friends from their friends: neuer was there any of them praied for since the world began. It is more strange that Moses in the law should prescribe no part of this deuotion, no praiers, no sacrifices for the dead: and yet should charge the people of God as to take nothing from the Law, so to [a] adde nothing to it. And though Moses and the prophets had so negligently omitted it, would Christ and his Apostles be so forgetfull as not to vse one word to recommend so necessary a matter to the practise of the church? yea would Paul, whom the Pope for very pure loue hath made his sword-bearer, would he purposely setting downe instructions concerning [b] the dead be so careles as not to wish that they should be praied for? But as touching this Epiphanius resolueth vs that praier for the dead is a mat-

[a] *Deut. 4. 2.*

[b] *1. Thess. 4. 13. &c.*

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ter of [c] *tradition* and *an ordinance of the church*, and therefore freeth vs from any trespasse against any thing that Moses or the prophets or Christ and his Apostles in the scriptures haue deliuered vnto vs. Yea but M. Bishop telleth vs out of S. Austin that Aerius was adiudged an hereticke for denying praier for the dead. Indeed Austin so found it in Epiphanius and accordingly he hath deliuered it, but it being confessed that praier for the dead is a tradition and ordinance of the church, there groweth a question whether a man for trespassing an ordinance of the church be to be reputed an hereticke? Nay indeed it is no question: for heresie standeth not in matter of fact but in matter of faith. The church prescribed this to be done, but the doctrine of faith had prescribed nothing to be beleeued thereof. We condemne Aerius for an hereticke for that which as [d] Basil witnesseth he taught against the faith, if at least it were the same Aerius; but we dare not so thinke of him for denying praier for the dead, because therein he said nothing against the faith. For the doctrine of faith is that they [e] *which dye or are dead in the Lord are blessed and doe rest from their labours*; that they are [f] *in peace*; that [g] *death is aduantage vnto them*, because to them to *be* [h] *dissolued is to be with Christ*, and [i] *to remoone out of the body is to dwell with the Lord*; that the Angells doe attend them to carie their soules as they did the soule of Lazarus [k] *into Abrahams bosome*, that is to say [l] *into the kingdome of heauen*. If this be their state, as it is, then are our praiers of no effect vnto them; they neede them not and because they neede them not, we are not to vse them; M. Bishop himselfe bearing witnesse that it is [m] fond and friuolous to pray for eternall life to be giuen to them which are already in full and assured possession of it. And surely the auncient church at the first intended nothing contrary to this faith. They vsed solemnity for the faithfull deceased, but that was only commemeration and thanksgiuing to shew that they presumed of their blisse and happinesse, not

[c] *Epiph. hær. 75.*
[d] *Basil. de spir. sanct. cap. 2.*
[e] *Apoc. 14. 13.*
[f] *Esa. 57. 2.*
[g] *Phil. 1. 21.*
[h] *vers. 23.*
[i] *2. Cor. 5. 8.*
[k] *Luc. 16. 22.*
[l] *Mat. 8. 11.*
[m] *Pag. 38.*

not any praier whereby to procure them ease and deliuerance from Purgatory paines. And this appeareth most plainly by the wordes of Origen. [n] *We, saith he, dee not celebrate any birth day, because that is the entrance of sorowes and temptations: but we celebrate the day of death as being the putting away of all sorowes and the escaping of all temptations. We celebrate the day of death, because they dye not which seeme to dye. For that cause also we obserue memorialls of the Saints and deuoutly keepe remembrance of our parents and friends dying in the faith, as well reioycing at their refreshment and ease, as craning for our selues a Godly consummation in the faith. We celebrate it calling together deuout persons with the priests; the faithfull brethren togither with the clergy, inuiting moreouer the poore and needy, feeding the orphanes and widowes that our solemnitie may be for a memoriall of rest to the soules departed whose remembrance we celebrate, and to vs may become a sweet sauour in the sight of the euerlasting God.* This is a perfect description of their vsage towards the dead: they imagined nothing but rest to the soules of them that were departed in the faith, and therefore reioyced ouer them, but vsed no praier for them. And therefore they comforted men to die without feare or doubt, and with certaine expectation of rest and peace, as [o] Cyprian doth: and accordingly gaue comfort as touching the dead, *that they were* [p] *not to be bewailed as being in miserie, but that they haue attcined their desire:* [q] *that we are not to put on blacke mourning garments, sith they haue put on white: that they liue with God, and that we should hasten to come to them.* With much more which Cyprian most notably speaketh to that purpose; but of Purgatorie or praier for the dead no intimation at all. Yea and although afterward thankesgiuing for the dead were in some part turned to praier for the dead, yet was not that praier for the dead intended for any deliuerance from Purgatorie paines, without which Popish praier for the dead hath no vse at all, but it serued partly to testifie the affection of the liuing to the dead; and partly

[n] *Origen. in lib. 3.*

[o] *Cyp. de Mortal.*

[p] *Tertull. de patientia.*

[q] *Cypr. de mortalit.*

to expresse to the liuing what hope there remaineth in death, for them that liue and die faithfull to the Lord. And this plainly appeareth by him that was the author of the *Ecclesiasticall Hierarchia* vnder the name of *Dionysius Areopagita*, who setting foorth the vsage of the church in this behalfe, saieth that the man dying [e] *as being now come to the last act of all his combates, is replenished with a holy reioycing, and with great cheerefulnesse entreth the way of the holy second birth, that is, the resurrection; well knowing that he shall wholly when he hath ended his life, atteine to sweete and pleasant rest, and therefore beholding cleerely the way that bringeth to immortalitie, as neere at hand he praiseth the gift of God and is filled with diuine ioy, because he feareth not any change to woorse, but surely knoweth that he shall haue sure and euerlasting possession of those good things which he shall atteine vnto.* Where we are first duely to obserue with what minde the faithfull then died, who feared no change to woorse, but resolued themselues that they should goe to ioyfull and pleasant rest, and therfore neuer once dreamed of any Purgatorie, nor did bespeake any masses of *Requiem*, or *Dirigees*, or pardons, or any other such Popish meanes to be deliuered from thence. Now it followeth further, *The friends of him that is dead*, saith he, *account him, as he is, blessed, for that he hath according to his desire atteined to the end of his victorie, and with singing they giue thanks to the authour of that victorie, and further wish the like rest vnto themselues.* In all this we see them as farre from any opinion of Purgatorie, as the Popes purgatorie is farre from heauen, neither would they haue wished *the like rest* vnto themselues if they had put the case that perhaps the dead had no better rest then Purgatorie fire. After this he sheweth that the dead was caried to the bishop or minister, that that might be done which was accustomed at the buriall of the dead. The congregation was assembled, the nouices in faith were dismissed, but such as stoode excommunicate for euill life were admitted, *be-*

[e] *Dyonis. Areopag. Eccles. hierarch. cap. 7.*

cause

cause it might happely doe them good when they should see that he that died holily was holily recommended, as being partaker with the holy men or Saints that haue beene from the beginning, and they might be taught that truely blessed is the death whereby a man dieth in Christ. Then followed the praier, *that God would forgiue to him that was dead all the sinnes that he had committed by humane frailtie, and would bring him into the light and land of the liuing, into the bosome of Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, into the place from whence flieth all sorrow, heauinesse, and mourning.* Where we see no Popish praier for the dead to be deliuered from Purgatory paines, nor any other meanes vsed to that purpose. And that we may fully know that no such thing was ment, he himselfe mooueth the question, why the Bishop or the minister doth so pray, that God would forgiue to the dead his sins, & giue him the like inheritance with them that haue followed the Lord, seeing God hath already appointed such reward to those that die to him. Where if any Purgatorie had beene beleeued, it had beene the place to answer, that indeed God had promised such rewards: but yet first a man must goe to Purgatorie fire, there to satisfie for those offences for which he hath not made full satisfactiō whilest he liued, and that this praier was vsed to deliuer the dead from that grieuous tormenting fire. But he answereth no such matter, but that the bishop or priest thus praieth, to *declare to God who is the louer of good men, that he is affected towards them in like sort: and being the interpreter of the counsell of God, to set foorth to them that are present the rewards and good things which shall befall to holy men; and according to the commission of Christ; Whatsoeuer yee binde on earth shall be bound in heauen, &c. to seuer the sorts of men and as the porter to admit and let in to God those that are beloued of him, and exclude and shut out wicked men:* because this praier was not common to al, but vsed onely for them in *respect of whom he had the promise of God that he should be heard, and therefore he praied not for prophane or vnholy men,*

but for such as had liued iustly and holily, and had shewed themselues woorthy to be praied for. Seeing therefore God hath promised a most glorious and diuine life to them that liued heere a holie life (his kindenesse and mercifull goodnesse passing by the blottes which humane frailtie hath cast vpon them) hee prayeth that these thinges may accordingly come to passe, and as Gods interpreter declareth that those things which by a sacred and holy institution he here rehearseth shall verily befall to them who in a Godly life depart out of this world. Which declaration taken out of the expresse words of Dionysius doth make it euident and plaine that their praier for the dead serued only for a testification of the promise of God to the righteous, and to declare that the same did appertaine to the deceased, and therefore to the notice and sight of the church to inuest and inter him to the possession thereof, that as a king hauing the right and possession of his kingdome, yet by solemnity of coronation receiueth full inuestment to his throne, so the faithfull enioying in death the promised blisse and happinesse of the Saints might by this solemnity and as he calleth it στεφάνων ἱερῶν δόσιν, *the giuing of the sacred crownes*, receiue in the eies of the church also a full testimony and confirmation thereof, the bishop praying for none but for such to whom he knew God had promised, to doe that which he praied for. Albeit, because he saith that in this action was *managed the whole saluation of the whole man, and the signification of the resurrection from the dead*, and it could not be but that they had a respect vnto the body of the departed lying before their eies, a preparation whereof to the resurrection they shadowed by annointing it now going to the ground; most certaine it is that in their praier they had a speciall reference thereunto that as they beleeued that the soule now according to the promise of God receiued rest and blisse with God, so the whole man, both body and soule iointly might at the resurrection receiue the fruite and benefite of the forgiuenesse of sinnes and place with Abraham,

Abraham, Isaac and Iacob in the kingdome of heauen. In all which discourse so largely set downe by Dionysius, whatsoeuer he were, to declare the custome of the church at that time wherein he liued, we finde nothing but rest and peace and blisse and happinesse to the deceased for whom they praied, according to the promise of God to the righteous that in death they should be partakers of euerlasting life; but as for Purgatory or M. Bishops prayer for the dead to be deliuered from the paines thereof, there is not so much as one syllable to import it. The like praier for the dead Epiphanius mentioneth, [f] *For the iust, the fathers, the patriarchs, the prophets, the Apostles, Euangelists, martyrs, confessours. &c.* And why? For they doubted not of all these but that they were in heauen: why then did they pray for them? Marrie euen for that cause as the church before had done, *that it might thereby be vnderstood that the faithfull deceased are not perished but are still being and liuing with the Lord.* Another reason he telleth vs, *vt dominum Iesum Christum ab hominum ordine separemus, &c. that we may seuer our Lord Iesus Christ from the ranke of all other men by the honour that we doe vnto him, and may yeelde him worship, cõsidering that though a man liue a thousand times righteously, yet he is not like vnto him:* importing hereby that Christ only was perfectly righteous, but for others, there was no man, howsoeuer righteous he were, but that his righteousnesse needed entreaty to God for mercy, and therefore whereas Christ was to be praied vnto, all other were such as that they rather needed to be praied for: whence I inferred before and that by necessarie consequence, that because the auncient church did pray for the Saints, without all controuersie they did not pray vnto them. Thus were they put to shifts to deuise reasons of their praier for the dead, and yet could neuer light vpon that reason which is the only support of that praier for the dead, which M. Bishop seeketh to approoue. Albeit Epiphanius herein sheweth that some alteration there was

[f] *Epiphan. hær. 75.*

from the auncienter church, because they had now begun to *pray for mercy for sinners* after their death, that is for publicke and notorious sinners, which, Dionysius saith the former church was not woont to doe. But with what minde or for what cause they did so, Epiphanius sheweth not, neither can it be gathered by his wordes: for deliuerance from Purgatorie it could not be, because Purgatorie, as the Papistes themselues confesse, was [t] not receiued or beleeued in the Greeke churches, whereof Epiphanius was, nor hath beene till this daie. And surely disputing purposely against Aerius in the defense of that custome of praying for the dead, nothing had been so ready to stoppe his mouth and to vphold that custome as the allegation of Purgatorie if any such thing had beene then receiued in the church. But it was only humane affection that preuailed herein; it was thought to be a good minde to wish well to the dead, and whilest men gaue way to their owne fancies in this behalfe superstition grew more and more, and that which with Dionysius was peculiar to iust and holy men to giue them in some sort admission to heauen became common and indifferent to all and had other deuotions added vnto it with opinion to mitigate, if need so required, the very paines of hell. This Aerius spake against, and indeed spake against it with greater reason then Epiphanius hath defended it: yea the truth is, as [u] Cassander confessed to Maximilian the emperour, that it, cannot be gathered by any constant agreement of the doctrine of the church at that time what certaine vse they meant to make of their praiers and deuotions for the dead; or what was the condition and state of the soules for which they praied. The custome thereof was vsuall in the church, but men knew not what the church might intend in the doing thereof. Hereupon Dulcitius moued the question to Austin [x] *Whether the offering made for the dead did any good to their soules, seeing it is euident*, saith he, *that it is by our owne deedes that we are either helped or hurt, and we read that in hell*

[t] *Alphons. de Castro adu. hær. lib. 8. tit. de Indulgentijs. Polydor. Virg. de inuent. rerum. lib. 8. ca. 1. ex Roffensi.*

[u] *Cassand. Consultat. cap. de iterat. Missæ.*

[x] *August. de eclo quæst Dulcitij. q. 2.*

hell no man can make confession to God. He knew no purgatory, he knew nothing for the dead but heauen or hell; otherwise he had beene well enough able to answere himselfe as touching this point. Now for answere hereof S. Austin telleth him that *many indeede did say as touching this point, if there were any good to be don in this behalfe after death, how much more should the soule it selfe procure ease for it selfe by it owne confessing of sinnes there, then by any oblation that here is procured for the ease thereof.* Therefore by S. Austin himselfe it appeareth that there were many that did then dispute against that vsage and custome of the church, whom he condemneth not; he chargeth them not with any heresie, he goeth not about to confute their saying: nay he reciteth their opinion no otherwise but as probable and likely to giue Dulcitius satisfaction of his demaund. But yet finding that custome of praiers and oblations in the Church he laboured to make the best of it, *that there was no doubt but some good came to the dead thereby, but because it was said that we should al receiue according to the things that we haue done in our bodies, it was to be vnderstood that this good redounded to none but to those that had led such a life in the body as that these things might doe them good.* Thus because he would not haue men to preiudicate the obseruation of the church he will haue it thought that there commeth some good of these deuotions, but when he commeth to set downe what that good is he cannot tell certainly what to say. *Either they auaile to full remission, or else surely to procure a more tolerable damnation.* A verie doubtfull answere, and one part thereof the Papistes themselues reiect as altogether false. For [y] they deny that praier for the dead extendeth to the damned, and therefore it cannot procure for them any mitigation of their damnation. As for forgiuenesse of sinnes there can be none after this life, for where there is no repentance there can be no forgiuenesse: but [z] *after that we are gone from hence there is no place*, saith Cyprian, *for any repentance; there is no boote*

[y] *Bell. de Purgat. li. 2. cap. 18.*

[z] *Cyprian. adu. Demetrian.*

boote of any satisfaction: no place therfore is there left for any forgiueneſſe. Therefore Ambroſe ſaith that [a] *Dauid praied to haue his ſins forgiuen him before he departed this life, becauſe*, ſaith he, *he that here receiueth not forgiueneſſe of ſinnes, ſhall not be in the inheritance of the Saints: for he cannot come to eternall life, becauſe eternall life is the forgiueneſſe of ſinnes*, that is, is atteined vnto by forgiueneſſe of ſinnes. Yea and what ſinnes they are that ſhould be forgiuen after this life, S. Auſtin profeſſeth that [b] *by all the ſearch that he could vſe he could neuer atteine to know*. The Papiſts tell vs that they are only *veniall ſinnes*; but S. Auſtin ſaith in that place that they are ſuch ſinnes by which a man dieth in caſe to be caſt into hell fire, becauſe he maketh the vſe of thoſe praiers and interceſſions to be this, *vt ne in ignem quiſq; mittatur æternum, that a man may not be caſt into euerlaſting fire*, whereof there is no danger with the Papiſtes for their veniall ſinnes. Thus S. Auſtin and they agree like harpe and harrow; he neither ſaith as they ſay, nor they as he. He affirmeth that vſe of praier for the dead, to free men from euerlaſting fire or to giue them eaſe therein, which they vtterly denie; and they affirme that vſe of praier for the dead to deliuer men from Purgatorie fire, which he neuer knew. For of Purgatorie fire he anſwereth nothing, which had ſerued moſt pregnantly for the deciding of all that doubt. Indeed there was begun in that time ſome ſpeech thereof, but he plainly ſheweth that he could not tell what to thinke of it. He thinketh it [c] not *incredible that ſuch a purgatorie fire may be after this life, and it may be queſtioned*, ſaith he, *whether it be ſo*. And againe, [d] *I ſpeake not againſt it*, ſaith he, *becauſe perhaps it is ſo*. And againe in another place he leaueth it as vncertaine, [e] *Whether onely in this life men ſuffer, or whether there follow ſome ſuch temporall iudgements after this life*. Now ſeeing he was ſo vncertaine & doubtfull heerein, becauſe it was indeed a matter of humane tradition and deuice, how much better & more ſafely ſhal we follow him there, where being ſom-

times

[a] *Ambroſ. de bono mort. c. 2.*

[b] *Aug. de ciuit. Dei. li. 21. c. 27.*

[c] *De 8. quæſt. Dulcit. q. 1.*

[d] *De ciu. Dei. li. 21. cap. 26.*

[e] *De fide & oper. ca. 16.*

times vntangled from the regard of customes receiued in the church, he peremptorily determineth according to the truth of the word of God. [f] *There is not any middle place for any man,* saith he, *that he can be any where but with the diuell that is not with Christ.* [g] *He that is dead, either his soule ioyeth in the bosome of Abraham, or else is trauing a little water in euerlasting fire.* [h] *Any third place we know not, nay we finde in the Scriptures that there is no such.* [i] *The soules of the godly being departed from the body are in rest, but the soules of the vngodly are in punishment vntill the bodies of the one remue to euerlasting life, and the bodies of the other to euerlasting death.* [k] *All mens soules when they are gone from the body haue their diuers places of receit: the good haue ioy, the euill haue torment. But when the resurrection shall come, both the ioy of the good shall be greater, and the torments of the euill shall be more grieuous,* &c. Thus S. Austin spake as wee speake, there is no ambiguitie in his words: he maketh no more places of soules but heauen and hell, and therefore excludeth all vse of praier for the dead, which by the [l] Papists owne confession can neither adde any thing to the blisse of them that are in heauen, nor take away any part of punishment from them that are in hell. Now by this that hath beene handled, it appeareth that in denying praier for the dead, we vary nothing at all from the faith or practise of the most auncient church: in practise we varie somewhat from the church in the time of the supposed Dionysius Areopagita, but in faith and doctrine concerning the state of the dead, nothing at all. What opinions thereof grew afterwardes, it is nothing to vs: there were those vses conceiued of it which the Papistes themselues, as hath beene shewed, doe now wholly deny, and indeed Popish praier for the dead is not to be found in all those times. For popish praier for the dead cannot stande but with the standing of Purgatorie: but Purgatorie by the auncient church hath no certaine standing: and therefore Popish praier for the dead for any helpe that it hath from

[f] *De peccat. merit. & remiss. lib. 1 ca. 28.*
[g] *In epist. Ioan. tract. 10.*
[h] *Hypogn. lib. 5.*
[i] *De Ciu. Dei. lib. 13. cap. 8.*
[k] *In Ioan. tract. 49.*
[l] *Bellarm. de Purgat. lib. 2. cap. 18.*

the auncient church must necessarilie fall; neither doth our church in the deniall of it denie any thing that hath any certaine approbation from that church.

11. W. Bishop.

Lib.3.cap.20. Lib.1. con. Maximin. *A common custome it was of the* Arrians, *and of other more auncient heretickes, to reiect all traditions, and to relie onely vpon the written word, as testifieth S.* Ireneus and *S.* Augustine. *Doe not ours the same, reiecting all traditions, as mans inuention.*

R. Abbot.

M. Bishop in the three former diuisions hath taken it as a great preiudice to vs, that Iouinian, Vigilantius, and Aerius were condemned by the auncient church or rather by some few of the auncient church, for some articles of doctrine which we now mainteine. But yet he knew that his hold was not fast enough, vnlesse he added this point of traditions, because they were condemned onely for oppugning traditions, and not for any thing which they mainteined against the written worde of God. Vnlesse therefore the authoritie of *Traditions* be made good, he seeth well enough that it maketh nothing at all for him that they were condemned. Whereupon he telleth vs that the Arians and other heretickes were condemned of old for reiecting traditions, and relying onely vpon the written word. This he taketh vpon him to prooue by Ireneus and Austen, but his proofe is such, as that if we were in any dislike of traditions before, we haue great cause now to like them woorse. But he doth as his M. Bellarmine is woont to doe; set it downe, it is no matter whether it be right or wronge: acornes and draffe be fit enough for swine, and lies are good enough for them that are readie to beleeue them. The tract of Ireneus to which he referreth vs, is very pregnant to set foorth vnto vs in the olde heretickes, the very course which the Papists now vse as touching

touching the Scriptures. In the first chapter of that booke which is the chapter before that that M. Bishop citeth Ireneus beginneth thus: [a] *We haue not receiued the way of saluation by any other but by them by whom the Gospell came vnto vs, which indeed they then preached, but afterwards by the will of God deliuered the same vnto vs in the Scriptures to be the foundation and pillar of our faith.* Behold heere the written Gospell commended vnto vs to be *the foundation and pillar of our faith,* and that this was so ordered *by the will of God,* that we may know it to be vtterly vntrue which the Papists teach, that [b] *Christ did not looke that the Gospell should be committed to writing, but that onely by word it should be published to all creatures:* and do we not thinke that this helpeth M. Bishops traditions very much? He goeth on & sheweth that the Apostles and Euangelists were by the holy Ghost endued with perfect knowledge to doe that they did, against some which tooke vpon them to be *emendatores Apostolorum, Correctours of the Apostles*; that by this inspiration Matthew, Marke, Iohn and the rest wrot that which they wrote, & therfore they which did not assent to these being thus partakers of the spirit of the Lord, did despise the Lord Christ himselfe, and the Father, *which* saith he, *all heretickes doe. For*, saith he, *when they are reprooued by the scriptures they fall to finding fault with the scriptures as if they were not right nor were of authority, and that they are diuersly taken, and that by them the truth cannot be found out of such as doe not know tradition: because the truth was not deliuered by writing but by word.* How glad would you be, M. Bishop, if Ireneus had saied any thing to touch vs so far as this toucheth you? But let vs first see the end: for when they thus shifted off the scriptures & refused triall thereby, he and others that dealt against them were driuen to another course, and that was to examine what the doctrine was that was deliuered from hand to hand by the Bishops and pastours of the church from the time of the Apostles, not minding any other doctrine then was

[a] *Iren. li. 3. ca. 1.*

[b] *Andrad. Orthod. explicat. lib. 2.*

conteined in the scriptures, but because they refused the scriptures they would shew that the doctrine which they taught them by the scriptures was no other but what had beene the continual tradition and deliuery of the teachers of the church succeſſiuely from the time of the Apoſtles, and therefore the very truth that was firſt deliuered to the church. But, ſaieth he, *when we call them being indeed againſt tradition to that tradition which is from the Apoſtles which by ſucceſſion of Biſhops is kept and continued in the churches they will ſay that they themſelues being wiſer not only then the biſhops of the church but alſo then the Apoſtles themſelues, haue found out the ſincere truth.* Hereupon notwithſtanding to giue ſatisfaction to them that would be ſatisfied in this behalfe he reckoneth the whole ranke of the Biſhops of Rome vntill his time ſtill continuing the ſame tradition from the Apoſtles. [c] *For they all ſucceſſiuely*, as Euſebius rehearſeth out of Egeſippus, *taught as the law and the prophets and the Lord had preached.* He bringeth in alſo Polycarpus and alleageth his epiſtle to the *Philippians*, deliuering the ſame forme of faith, of whom Euſebius bringeth him in alſo giuing this witneſſe that in all his ſermons and narrations he deliuered [d] *cuncta ſanctis ſcripturis conſona: all according to the ſcriptures.* Laſtly he produceth the church of Epheſus founded by Paul, and where Iohn the Apoſtle continued till the time of Traian the Emperour as *a true witneſſe of the tradition of the Apoſtles.* *And what*, ſaith he, *if the Apoſtles had left nothing in writing, ſhould we not follow the order of that tradition which they deliuered to them to whom they committed the churches; whereto many nations of the Barbarians agree hauing no writing and yet diligently keeping the old tradition?* Now what is that *tradition?* For here is the full point. *Beleeuing*, ſaith he, *in one God maker of heauen and earth and of all thinges that are therein by Ieſus Chriſt the ſonne of God; who for his exceeding great loue towards his creature was content to be borne of a virgin, in himſelfe uniting man to God, who ſuffered vnder Pontius Pilate and roſe againe, and was receiued*

[c] *Euſeb. hiſt. eccl. li. 4. ca. 21.*

[d] *Euſeb. hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 18.*

ceiued vp in glorie, and with glory shal come the saiuour of them that are saued and the iudge of them that are iudged, and shall send into eternall fire the corrupters of his truth, and the despisers of his father and of his comming. This faith they haue beleeued without writing, and by reason of this auncient tradition of the Apostles they admit not into their mind any of the monstrous speeches of these heretickes. &c. Pardon me I beseech thee, gentle Reader, if I be somewhat tedious in the rehearsall of these things. It is for thy satisfaction that thou maist see that Ireneus did not intend by tradition to commend any distinct part of doctrine beside the scripture, but only appealed to tradition as a witnesse of the onlie true doctrine which is cõteined in the scripture. His Apostolicall tradition, thou seest, conteineth no point of faith but whereof the scripture doth plentifully instruct vs, neither doth he go about in his whole booke to auouch vnto them any other point but what he seeketh by the scripture to approoue. Nay I pray the duely to obserue that it was the hereticke onely that alleaged vnwritten tradition beside the scripture to empeach that faith which Ireneus iustified by the scripture, and for no other cause sought to prooue it by tradition but because they refused the triall of the scripture. How canst thou then but take him for a lewde impostour that would make thee beleeue that Ireneus by tradition recommendeth a distinct part of doctrine beside, nay indeed contrary to the scripture? The tradition that he speaketh of is the same with S. Paules: [e] *Tradidi vobis secundum scripturas: I deliuered vnto you; my tradition was to you according to the scriptures.* [f] *That which I receiued of the Lord, tradidi vobis, I deliuered vnto you; that was my tradition vnto you*, and in writinge expresseth the same. And to this meaning saide Cyprian when by Stephanus the Bishop of Rome he was vrged whith *tradition:* [g] *Whence is this tradition? Commeth it from the authority of the Lord or of the Gospell? or from the precepts and epistles of the Apostles. For those things that are written God*

[e] 1. Cor. 15. 3. 4.

[f] Cap. 11. 23.

[g] Cyprian. ad Pompeium.

himselfe testifieth that they are to be obserued. If therefore it be commaunded in the Gospell, or be conteined in the Epistles or acts of the Apostles, then surely let this tradition be holily obserued. So say we to M. Bishop; let him shew vs his traditions by the Scripture, and wee are ready to admit them religiously and holily to be obserued. And so farre is Ireneus from auouching any other traditions as that hee teacheth not onely that the *written Gospell is the foundation and pillar of our faith,* as before, but also that [h] *the rule of truth* is to be taken from those thinges, *quæ apertè & sine ambiguo ipsis dictionibus posita sunt in Scripturis; Which plainly and without ambiguitie in very words are set downe in the Scriptures:* the greater is M. Bishops sinne to go about to force him to the patronage of such traditions as neither plainly nor obscurely are to be found therein. But I cannot but woonder that Master Bishop would referre vs of all other to this place of Ireneus, who in describing heere the fashion and dealing of the old heretickes, doth so liuely trace out the path wherein the Papists haue walked, as if beforehand he had prophecied of them. For as hee saith the old heretickes did, euen so they when they were reprooued by the Scriptures, began to cauill thereat, that the Scriptures were not [i] rightly translated, that the [k] Greeke and Hebrew copies were corrupted; yea the authoritie of the Scriptures was not such but that [l] the authoritie of the church and bishop of Rome is aboue them, yea and doth [m] giue authoritie Canonicall vnto them: that they were not written that our [n] faith should be in subiection to them, but that they should be subiect vnto it; yea one of them doubted not to say, that [o] Paules Epistles but onely that the Doctours of the church had giuen some authoritie vnto thē, were no more to be set by then Æsopes fables. They alleaged that no certainty could be gathered by the Scriptures, becaus̄e they were [p] like a nose of waxe, a squire of lead, that might be turned anie way: that the Scripture is but [q] a dead and a dumbe thing, and

[h] *Iren. l. 3. c. 46.*

[i] *Greg. Martins discouery of the English translations.*

[k] *Rhem. Test. in the Preface to the Reader.*

[l] *Sylues. Prieri. de potest. Papæ cont. Luther.*

[m] *Pighij eccles. Hierar. Præfat. ad Paul. 3. & lib. 1. cap. 2. 3. 4.*

[n] *Pigh. ibid. c. 2.*

[o] *Sleidan. Comment. lib. 25.*

[p] *Censura Colon. Dialog. 4. Pigh. apud Andrad. Orthod. explic. lib. 2.*

[q] *Sleidan. Comment. lib. 23. exorat. Pictauÿ.*

and there must be adioyned to it a iudge to determine of the trueth: that it is vnperfect and doth not deliuer vnto vs all things that we are to beleeue and to doe, but it must be [r] supplied and expounded by traditions, and if we will know the trueth, we must goe to the old Councels and Fathers of the Church, and learne of them what wee must beleeue. Well, wee haue beene content to folfolow them: we haue iustified our religion by the tradition of the auncient church: we auouch no point of doctrine whereof we haue not shewed testimonie and approbation in the auncient councels, and fathers and stories of that time. Why then forsooth [s] *we are faine*, say they, *to beare with many errours in the old Catholicke writers; but we extenuate and lessen them; we excuse and make the best of them by some deuised shift; we set a good meaning on them when they are opposed in disputations or in controuersies with our aduersaries.* [t] *Marry the certaine truth or assurance of all the old councels and of all doctrines or definitions of faith dependeth vpon the testimony of the church that now is. For we haue not any infallible testimony that there were any such councels or that they were lawfull, or did determine this or that, but that the church which now is and cannot erre so thinketh and teacheth. For whereas some historians make mention of these councels, it can breed but humane beleefe wherein there may be falsehood.* Thus they reduce all to their church and to themselues, and neither care for scriptures nor tradition nor councels nor fathers but as it seemeth good to their church to approoue and like them. And although in verie woords they doe not say as those heretickes did that they are wiser then the Apostles themselues, yet in deede and practise they say as much, saying those things which the Apostles neuer said, and doing those things which they neuer did, and with [u] *Non obstante* vnsaying and vndoing those things which Christ and his Apostles haue saied and done. With such men we haue to doe, extremely impudent, shameles, conscienceleſſe, like to stubburne and wilfull theeues and malefactours

[r] *M. Bishop. pag. 19. Alphabet. 2.*

[s] *Index Expurgat. in Censura Betrami.*

[t] *Bellarm. de sacram. lib. 2. cap. 25.*

[u] *Concil. Constant. sess. 13.*

malefactours who knowing themselues guilty refuse the common triall by God and their countrey, and will no otherwise be tried but by their owne words.

M. Bishop further compareth vs for denying Traditions to the Arians, playing still the part of Medius Alexanders parasite: if he cannot accuse truely, yet he will lie for life, presuming that though the wound be cured, yet there will remaine a scarre. The Arians denied [x] Christ to be of *one and the same nature and substance with the father and the holy ghost*. Against them by the Commandement of Constantine was assembled the councell of Nice; to which Constantine himselfe gaue this direction; [y] *The bookes of the Euangelists and Apostles and the oracles of the auncient prophets doe well instruct vs of the will of God: therefore setting aside all enmity and discord let vs take out of the wordes inspired of God the explication of the questions in hand.* They accordingly by the worde of God and testimonies of the scripture prooued against the heretickes that Christ is of the same substance or essence with the father and the holy ghost, and this they thought good to expresse briefely by that one worde ὁμόσιος or ὁμοούσιος, *consubstantiall, of one substance*. The Arians though at that time conuinced of errour yet began afterwards to spurne at the definition of the councell, and one cauill against it was that they vrged vpon men to beleeue such things as were not written in the scriptures: for in all the scriptures, the word ὁμόσιος they said was not to be found, and so they answered of other like wordes as occasion serued. So said Maximinus the Arian Bishop; [z] *we will in no case receiue wordes that are beside the scripture*. So saied Constantius the emperour being brought to be a mainteiner of the Arian heresie, [a] *I will haue no words vsed that are not written*. Now what was this but meere cauillation and shifting: for though the word ὁμόσιος be not found in the scripture yet the matter and signification of the word is conteined in the scripture, and thereby is Christ prooued to be ὁμόσιος, *of the same substance* with

[x] *August. hær. 49. ad Quodvultd.*

[y] *Theod. hist. eccles. li. 1. ca. 7.*

[z] *August. cont. Maximi. lib. 1.*

[a] *Hilar. cont. Constant.*

with the father. So Athanasius answered: *These wordes though they be not found in the scriptures, yet haue the same meaning that the scriptures intende, and import the same with them whose eares are rightly affected to here the truth.* The same answere doth Cyrill giue, and by [f] sundrie other examples sheweth that wordes are rightly and truely vsed concerning God according to the meaning of the scriptures which yet literally are not found there, as that God is *incomprehensible, vnshapeable, incorporall. &c.* Therefore did Basill professe that in intreating of the faith he would vse [d] *wordes that were not written, but yet not disagreeing from the meaning of the scripture, words which are not literally themselues set downe in scriptures, but yet doe retaine the sense and vnderstanding thereof.* Now M. Bishop knew well enough that we approoue all these things as rightly spoken against the Arians: that we doe not so rely vpon the written word as that we deny whatsoeuer is not in very letters and syllables expressed therein, but only such points the matter and meaning whereof cannot be iustified by the scripture. We say with *Gregory Nazianzen*, that *many* [e] *things are conteined in the scripture which yet are not spoken there*, and therefore *by those things which we reade*, as Austin saith to Maximinus, *we conceiue some things that we doe not read.* Our Sauiour [f] alleageth the scripture to prooue the resurrection of the dead, *I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Iacob*: yet it is not there written in these words: *the dead shall rise againe.* S. Paul [g] *disputed by the scriptures that Iesus was Christ* the Messias, *and that he was to suffer and rise againe from the dead*: yet he found it not in very words set downe that *Iesus was Christ &c.* So M. Bishop knoweth that we professe in the godhead *Trinity* and *Vnity*, though we doe not finde the wordes *Trinity* and *Vnity* any where in the scripture, because we finde in scripture the matter and meaninge for signification whereof these wordes haue beene receiued. So he knoweth and he is offended at it that we teach that a man before God is iu-

[b] *A Iansen. quod dereliq. Synodi Nicenæ congruum verbis suis expressit.*

[f] *Cyrillus Lib. 11. tit. 11. cap. 1.*

[d] *Basil. tract. de fide.*

[e] *Nazianzen. de Sp. Sanct. orat. 6.*

[f] *Matth. 22. 31. 32.*

[g] *Act. 17. 2. 3.*

stified *by faith only*, because the scripture in effect saith so, though by the very words of *faith only* it be not so expressed. So in our churches we professe Christ to be ὁμόσιος, *consubstantiall, of the same substance with the father and the holy ghost*, and therefore do not take part with the Arians in reiecting what is not literally expressed in the scripture, because we know the intent and signification of that word is conteined therein. Now therefore what should be the cause that should moue M. Bishop to challeng vs as taking part with the Arians in that cauill? Surely I can gesse none but that being busied in the study of higher diuinity he hath forgotten the ninth commaundement; *Thou shalt not beare false witnesse against thy neighbour*. But we will deale frindly with him; he shall see we be no Arians: let him shew vs the matter and effect of his *Traditions* in the scriptures, as the fathers did concerning ὁμόσιος, and we wil neuer contend about the wordes, we are ready to accept and embrace the same. Though we neither finde in the scripture *Masse* nor *Purgatory*, nor *Pope*, yet let them shew vs in the scripture the thinges which they meane by these words and they shall finde vs ready to accord with them. So for the rest let them doe the like, and we wilbe Papistes as well as they. If they cannot so doe, the auncient doctrine of the church teacheth vs to beware of them. [h] *If any man*, saith Austin, *either concerning Christ or concerning his church or concerning any thing pertaining to our faith and life shal preach vnto vs any thing but what we haue receiued in the scriptures of the law and the gospell, accursed be he.* And why? Because [i] *in those things*, saith he, *which are plainly set downe in the scriptures are found all thinges that belong to faith and behauiour of life.* And [k] *if*, saith Basil, *whatsoeuer is not of faith be sinne, and faith come by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, surely whatsoeuer is beside the holy scripture, because it is not of faith, it is sinne*: so that it is [l] *a manifest trespasse of faith and a plaine sinne of pride either to reiect anie thing that is conteined in the scripture or to bring in anie thing that*

Augustin. cont. lit Petiliani. lib. 3. cap 9.

i *De doct. Christ. l. 2. c. 9.*

k *Basil. Ethic. reg. 80.*

l *Idem serm. de fide.*

that is not written therein. [m] *Let him shew that it is written,* saith Tertullian: *If it be not written let him feare the woe that is pronounced to them that adde or take away. For* [n] *all things are cleere and plaine by the holy Scriptures,* saith Chrysostome; *Whatsoeuer things are necessarie, they are manifest.* Yea and since [o] *heresies haue gotten place in the church, there is no triall of true Christiantie, no refuge for them that desire to know which is the true faith, but onely the Scriptures of God: no way to know which is the true church of Christ, but onely by the Scriptures. Our Lord Iesus knowing that there would be in the last daies great confusion, doth therefore will that Christians desiring to haue assurance of true faith, should flie to nothing but to the Scriptures. Otherwise if they looke to other things, they shall stumble, and fall, and perish, not knowing which is the true church, and thereby lighting vpon the abhomination of desolation, which shall stand in the holy places of the church.* This is the thing, M. Bishop, that you seeke for, to bring vs to destruction; to make vs bondmen to Antichrist, to winne vs to approoue and honour as you doe *the abhomination of desolation,* which hath seated it selfe in the holy places of the church. You bring a woe and a curse vpon your selfe, according to the wordes of Austin and Tertullian, and you desire to haue vs partakers with you therein. But God forbid that we should hearken to you therein, and therefore according to the instruction and aduise of these auncient Fathers, we will admit nothing for matter of faith, but what may be iustified by the Scriptures, yet not reiecting any doctrine for any vnwritten wordes or termes, so long as the matter and meaning thereof may be warranted by that that is written.

[m] *Tertull. adu. Hermogen.*

[n] *Chrysost. in 2 Thessal. hom. 3.*

[o] *Op. imperfect. in Math. hom. 49.*

12. W. Bishop.

Xenaias *a barbarous Persian indeed, yet in shew a counterfeited Christian; is noted for one of the first among Christians, that inueyed against the Images of Saints, and the worship done*

Niceph. li. 10. cap. 27.

by true Christians vnto them; as both Nicephorus, *and* Cedrenus in compendio *doe record. The reprobate Iewes indeed before him, and after euen vntill this day, the miscreant Turkes (enemies of all Christianity) doe dwell still in the same error: And yet is not this most vehemently auerred by our Protestants, and all* Caluinists; *although they cannot denie but that aboue* 900. *yeeres agoe, in the second generall Councell holden at Nice, they are by the consent of the best, and most learned of the world, for euer accursed, that doe denie reuerence and worship, to be giuen vnto the Images of Saints.*

R. ABBOT.

In idle tales they haue beene woont to say, that howsoeuer the diuell disguise himselfe, yet he is to be knowne by a polt-foote. Howsoeuer it be in the appearance of the diuel, we are sure that it is so in his instruments & agents, that howsoeuer [a] *they transforme themselues as if they were the ministers of righteousnesse*, yet one way or other they bewray themselues by what spirit they speake. Surelie, if there were nothing else that did discouer vnto vs that M. Bishop is a teacher of lies and falshood, yet this point that heere he speaketh of, is sufficient fully to assure vs thereof. He setteth before vs heere to eate the very excrement & filth of Antichrist, the stinke whereof is so lothsome that it cannot but be extremely offensiue to any man that hath any true feeling of a Christian heart. What, would hee haue vs from the light of God to returne to that grosse and palpable Egyptian darkenesse, as that like senselesse beasts we should lie tumbling againe before dumbe idols, and worship stockes and stones, and lift vp our handes to pray to that which is the worke of the handes of another man? Farre be it from vs euer to yeeld our hearts to so vile and hatefull abhomination. *With worship and dutie of religion,* as [b] Lactantius and [c] Austin teach, *we serue onely the true God.* [d] *The Apostle,* saith the same S. Austin, *forbiddeth*

[a] 2. Cor. 11. 15.

[b] *Lactant. Institut. lib. 1. cap. 20.*

[c] *August. cont. 2. Epist. Pelag. lib. 3. cap 4.*

[d] *August. cont. Faust. Manich. lib. 14. cap. 11.*

biddeth religious worship to be giuen to any creature, neither can it be applied to any [c] *without wrong and iniury to the diuine maiestie*; [f] not to *martyrs* or *Saints*, not to the [g] *blessed virgin Marie*; not [h] *to Angels nor Archangels, nor any name that is named in this world or in the world to come.* Peter refuseth to be worshipped, saying to Cornelius, [i] *Arise for euen I also am a man.* The Angell refuseth to be worshipped, saying to S. Iohn, [k] *Doe it not, for I am thy fellow seruant: worship God.* As I applied it before to reliques, so must I heere to images what would they say if they could speake to the worshippers thereof? Worship not vs, for we are woorse then men; we are lesse then fellow seruants; wee are but woode and stones: naie the [l] frogge and the mouse, and the moule and the bat and euery worme is better then we are, because they haue life and sense and we haue none, and if it be a shame to worship them, much more shame is it to worship vs that are but blockes and stumpes of trees. Therefore pray not for helpe to vs, for we are not able to helpe our selues: [m] the owles and birds light vpon vs and beray vs and we cannot driue them away: the fire consumeth vs and we cannot withstand the heate thereof. Some men cloth and decke vs and other some robbe and spoile vs, and being sometimes [n] of gold and siluer our owners for their necessitie pawne vs and sell vs; or being of brasse or other mettall we are turned to posnets, and potts and pannes, and we haue no knowledge what any of them doe vnto vs. If ye will not [o] worship them that haue made vs, much lesse thinke it fitt to worship vs. And indeed a very brutish and senseleſse deuotion it is for a reasonable man to [p] babble to the walles and to talke vnto dead things, and being himselfe [q] the image of God to abiect himselfe to worship the image of a man, nay the very earth that he treadeth vnder his feete; for what are images but vile earth and dust? which [r] for their fashion and beauty are behouldinge to the workeman that made them, and therefore should themselues

[c] *Origen. cont. Celsum. lib. 1.*
[f] *Hieron cont. Vigilant Cyrill. cont. Iulianum. lib. 6.*
[g] *Ambros. de Spir sancto. lib. 3. cap. 12.*
[h] *Hier. ad Riparium. Origen cont. Cels. lib. 3. & 8.*
[i] *Act. 10. 26.*
[k] *Apoca. 22. 9.*
[l] *Clem. Alex. in Protrep. August. in Psa. 113. conc. 2.*
[m] *Bar. 6. 21. 54.*
[n] *Tertul. Apologet. cap. 13.*
[o] *Augustin. in Psal. 149.*
[p] *Origen. cont. Cels. lib. 1. & 6. Clem. Alex. in Protrept.*
[q] *Lact. Institut. lib. 2. cap. 18.*
[r] *Athanasius contra idola. Lact. Instit. lib. 1. cap. 2. & 4.*

selues rather worship him at whose mercy they stood whether to make them troughes for the swine or saints for the church. I wote well what they are ready here to answer, that they worship not the Images themselues but by the images they doe worship to the Saints. Wherein they say nothing but [f] what the idolatrous gentiles of old saied in defense of their idolls. But as the auncient church answered those idolaters, so doe we answere to idolatrous Papists, if they [g] beleue the Saints whom they worship to be in heauen, why doe they not lift vp their eies thither if they will needes worship them to worship them where they are; who are not to be worshipped if they see not what men do or heare not what they pray; and if they thinke they doe so, why doe they not directly but thus by atturney and at second hand performe their deuotions vnto them, as if they could not see but by there eies that cannot see, nor heare but by their eares that cannot heare, nor know what men doe vnto them but as they lie wallowing at the feete of dumbe and senseles idolls? And if we thinke him out of his witt that [a] standeth babling to a mans picture or image when he should and may speake to the man himselfe, why is it not thought a stupid and senseless thing, contumelious and reprochfull vnto the Saints, to sit mumbling of praiers to stockes and blockes that are intended to them, and in honor and worship to equall, as they do, euery base and vile idol to those heauenly & blessed soules? And how do they [x] know that their images are like to them whose names they beare, or that a ridiculous errour be not committed to worship Iohn a Noke by that that is more like Iohn a-Stile; or that as Praxiteles made the image of Venus by the countenance of Cratina, and many other by Phryne, who both were renowmed harlots; or as [y] the painter mentioned by Ludouicus Viues painted all women like to his owne wife: so the workeman haue made the image of our Lady to the shape of some minion or curtisan that he himselfe is in loue withall, and so

[f] *Origen. contra Celsum. lib. 8.*

[g] *Lact. institut. lib. 2. cap. 2. Arnob. contra Gentes, lib. 6.*

[a] *Lact. vt sup.*

[x] *Arnob. cont. Gentes, lib. 6.*

[y] *Lud. Viues de censur. veri. lib. 1.*

so it come to passe that [z] seruice bee done to a harlot in steede of a Saint, and this pitifull deuotion by false counterfeits be deluded? It is indeed a pitifull deuotion; for the Saints whom they professe to worship [a] know vs nor, nor are acquainted with vs, and therefore the worship that is done to their images must needes determine in the images themselues. And though they did know vs or were with vs, yet, as before hath beene shewed, we were not to performe vnto them any spirituall deuotion of religion, but to their images much lesse. And surely so farre were the first Christians from liking of the worshipping of images, as that they wholly disliked the [b] arte of image-making, and thought it not lawfull to be practised by them. It was [c] Marcellina the strumpet of Carpocrates the hereticke, that first after the [d] Simonians brought in amongst Christians the worshipping of images, bearing men in hand, that [e] Pilate tooke the picture of Iesus when he was vpon the earth, and shee had the counterfaites thereof, which with the images of Paul and Homer, and Pythagoras and others shee deuoutly serued. It was continued afterwards by the [f] Collyridian hereticks, and in them condemned by Epiphanius. They made images of the virgin Marie, and worshipped them, and offered to them, which he termeth a *diuelliſh practiſe*, and auoucheth that so to doe is to *goe a whooring from God*. S. Austin mentioneth [g] *Picturarum adoratores*, *worshippers of pictures*; noting them for *ignorant and superstitious persons and condemned by the church*. In the time of Gregorie the bishop of Rome the superstitious vse thereof began to grow further. The images of Saints began to bee set vp in the churches and to be worshipped. Serenus the bishop of Massilia was mightily offended heereat, and causeth the images to be broken and cast away. [h] Gregorie writeth to him that he would not haue had him to breake them, because they might serue as he thought for some instruction and remembraunce to simple people, but yet commendeth

[z] *Arno. vt sup.*
[a] *Esai. 63. 16.*
[b] *Clem. Alex. in Protrept.*
[c] *Origen. contra Celsum. lib. 6.*
[d] *Augustin. ad Quodvultd. her. 7.*
[e] *Euseb. histor. lib. 2. cap. 13.*
[f] *Iren. lib. 1. cap. 24.*
[g] *Epiphan. her. 79. Collyridian.*
[h] *Augustin. de moribus eccleſiæ Catholicæ. lib. 1. cap. 34.*
[i] *Gregor. lib. 7. Epist. 109. & lib. 9. Epist. 9.*

commendeth his zeale that he would not endure *that anie thing should be worshipped that is made with hands*, and telleth him *that he should forbid the people the worshipping of them: that they were not to be set in churches to be worshipped, because it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and him only thou shalt serue.* Yet afterwards the Bishop of Rome setting vp the kingdome of Antichrist with strong hand made way for this abhominable idolatry, and setled it in the church: and although the ~~faithfull~~ *fearfull* vengeance of God denounced by the Apostle for this sinne haue since eminently lighted vpon them, God [i] *deliuering them vp to vile affections*, so that the stinke of their vncleane & filthy lust, their Sodomy and vnnaturall beastlinesse was growen lothsome both to God and men; yet they continue still to defend this horrible sacriledge, that the prophecy of S. Iohn may be verified in them: [k] *The remnant of men which were not killed with these plagues* whereof he hath there spoken, *repented not of the workes of their handes that they might not worship diuels and idolls of gold and of siluer and of brasse and of stone and of wood, which neither can see nor heare nor goe*, calling it the worshipping *of diuels* as Moses did when he saied of the Israelites, [l] *They offered to diuels and not to God*, not according to the intention of the persons, but according to the truth of the thing [m] because diuels are prest and ready at idolls and images to receiue the honours that are done vnto them vnder pretence of doing honour and worshippe to Saintes in heauen. And thus M. Bishop maketh himselfe a patron and defender of this worshiping of diuels, and vseth the best witt he can to perswade his most excellent maiesty to be a promoter and furtherer thereof. But his colours are false and deceitfull, neither can he so varnish his idolls but that his Maiestie is able to discerne that they are but base and rotten stuffe. First he saith that *Xenaias a barbarous Persian was the first that inueighed against the worshiping of Saints images*: but this seemeth to be a meere deuise of the idol monger [n] Tharasius in

fearfull

[i] *Rom.1.24.26.*

[k] *Apoc.9.20.*

[l] *Deut 32.17.*

[m] *August. cont. Faust. Manich. lib.22.cap.17.*

[n] *Concil. Nicen. secund. Act.1.*

in the second Nicene councell thereby to cast a preiudice against them that should reproue that idolatry for that so bad a man as *Xenaias* did the like. for this [o] *Xenaias* was an Eutychian hereticke, a very seditious & turbulent man, that opposed himselfe against the councell of Chalcedon in behalfe of Eutyches and Dioscorus, as may appeare in Euagrius by an epistle of the monkes of Palestina concerning him. But of this matter of inueighing against worshiping of images there is nothing recorded till long after by Nicephorus & Cedrenus who were too ready to entertaine any tale that might serue for the furthering of their idolatry. And indeede there was no reason of his inueighing against worshiping of images, inasmuch as it is not found that there was anie Christian church in the world wherein images were vsed to any such ende. And if vpon occasion he had so done, he could not in those daies haue bene accounted an hereticke for it, bicause the whole current of the fathers of that time with full and maine streame runneth the same way: so vtterly vntrue is it which M. Bishop saith that *true Christians then did worship to images of saints*, neither can he bring any pregnant example thereof throughout the whole world. Another preiudice by him alleaged is, that Iewes and Turkes haue condemned and doe condemne the worshipping of images. But had Friar Bellarmine and his scholer M. Bishop so little vnderstanding, as to thinke it a good argument for the worshipping of images that Iewes and Turkes doe condemne it? We conceiue there is reason to argue another way, as our Sauiour Christ did from the example of the Niniuites against the Iewes, [p] *The men of Niniue shall rise in iudgement with this generation and shall condemne it, for they repented at the preaching of Ionas, &c.* Or as Austin doth from the example of the Iewes against the Arians: [q] *Ecce, intelligunt Iudæi quod non intelligunt Ariani: see, the Iewes vnderstand that which the Arians doe not vnderstand*, that Christ affirmeth himselfe to be equall to the Father. It was no reason

[o] *Euang. hist. lib. 3. ca. 31.*

[p] *Matth. 12. 41.*

[q] *August. in Ioan. tract. 17.*

why the Arians should not beleeue that Christ was equall to the Father, because the Iewes so conceiued of the words of Christ; but it was rather an argument of their exceeding great blindnesse that in Christs wordes could not see that which the Iewes saw. In like sort we may say; Behold, Turkes and Iewes see that which these blinde Papistes cannot see. They discerne by the commaundement of God that it is an abhominable thing to fall downe to an image, to worship it and pray to it, and such is the grosse darknes wherein Papists dwell, as that they take it to be a matter of great deuotion. Therefore Turkes and Iewes shall rise in iudgement against the Papists, and shall condemne them, because they haue learned by Gods lawe to hate that idolatrie which the Papists against the plaine law of God so wilfulfully mainteine. And well may I say wilfully, when in all their Catechismes wilfully and of purpose they suppresse the second Commaundement, whereby the people should learne to detest that abhomination. Last of all M. Bishop telleth vs in behalfe of his idols, that *we cannot deny, but that* aboue 900. yeeres agoe in the second generall Councel holden at Nice *they are by the cõsent of the best and most learned of the world for euer accursed that do deny reuerence & worship to be giuẽ to the images of saints.* But I see, M. Bishop, that you doe not know what we can doe. We both can and doe denie that they were the best or most learned of the world that pronounced that curse, vnlesse you meane *the world* as Christ doth when he saith, [r] *The children of this world are wiser in their generation then the children of light.* We deny not but such a Councell there was, by the procurement of Eirene, that idolatrous and wicked Empresse, but it was like the Councell of Ahabs foure hundred prophets, of whom Micheas saide vnto him, [s] *The Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets.* It might well be saide of them that God [t] *had mingled among st them the spirit of errour, so that they were like to drunken men*; that he [u] *had giuen them the spirit*

[r] *Luk.* 16. 8.

[s] *1. King.* 22. 23.

[t] *Esa.* 19. 14.

[u] *Rom.* 11. 8.

spirit of slumber, and [x] *sent them strong delusion to beleeue and to make lies.* There is that wresting and abusing of holie Scripture, such falsifying of the writings of the Fathers, such allegations of absurd and lying woonders, so manie brainsicke and witlesse conclusions, as that it may well be thought, that God by iust iudgement gaue them vp to a reprobate sense, and depriued them of common vnderstanding, so farre were they from shewing themselues the best or most learned of the world, as M. Bishop would haue vs to thinke of them. Let one of them, I doubt not but M. Bishop will say the best, serue for example of all the rest. [y] Adrian the bishop of Rome for the commending of images citeth these places of Scripture: [z] *In that day shall the altar of the Lord be in the middest of the land of Egypt, and a pillar by the border thereof vnto the Lord.* [a] *Glorie and honour are before him. Lord,* [b] *I haue loued the beauty of thy house, and the place where thy glory dwelleth.* [c] *Thy face Lord will I seeke.* [d] *All the rich of the people shall make their supplication before thee.* No doubt he was a profound clerke that could diue so deepe into these texts as to find images therein. But against this idoll-gracing conuenticle and conspiracie, there was gathered soone after in these Westerne parts at Franckford in Germany another Councell, summoned by the Edict of Charles the Great, wherein were a great number of Bishops of Germany, Fraunce, and Italy, who determined by the worde of God, and testimonies of the former auncient Church against the worshipping of Images, and decreed that that Nicene Synode which had established the same should bee holden for no other but *Pseudosynodus, a false Councell or synode:* they examined all the allegations of the same Councell and shewed them to be impertinent and false; and of the acts thereof, because Charles the Emperour was a dealer in the matter himselfe, was a booke put foorth vnder his name, *Liber Caroli Magni contra synodum de imaginibus: the booke of Charles*

[x] 2. Thess. 2. 11.

[y] Nicen. Concil. 2. Act. 2. Epist. Adrian, &c.

[z] Esay. 19. 19.

[a] Psal. 99. 6.

[b] Psal. 26. 8.

[c] 27. 9.

[d] 45. 12.

the great against the councell that decreed for images. The same [e] Charles at the same time sent ouer into this Iland of Britaine a copy of the same Nicene councell to haue a iudgement thereof, which Albinus singularly confuted by authoritie of holy scriptures, as hauing decreed that *which was accursed by the church of God*, and the same answere was sent ouer in the name of the Bishops and princes of this land. Yea and before that Nicene councell there was a councell holden by the Emperour Constantinus Copronymus of which there is mention made in the same [f] Nicene councell which so much detested the worshiping of images as that it decreed the abandoning of them altogether. We haue therefore two councels against M. Bishops one, and in his one councell we finde nothing to mooue a man well aduised to worship an image, but in the other we find sufficient instruction from the word of God to learne to detest the same. And thus we are at length come to an end of M. Bishops heresies wherewith he thought good to charge the doctrine of our church: and hitherto we see his breath is no gun-shot: he laboureth much and auaileth little; sheweth a great deale of malice and a small deale of witt thus to cry out *heresie heresie*, and able to prooue no heresie at all, it being made apparant that our church in the matters whereof he speaketh doth affirme nothing for which it hath not the expresse testimony and warrant of the old church.

[e] *Roger. Houeden. Continuat. Bedæ. part. 1. anno 792.*

[f] *Act. 6. Nicen. Concil. 2.*

13. W. Bishop.

I will omit sundrie other heads of the Protestants Religion, by all approoued antiquitie reprooued, and condemned, that I passe not the bounds of an Epistle, and seeme ouer tedious vnto your Maiestie. Especially cõsidering that these are sufficient, to conuince that those points (wherein the Protestants affirme the present Church of Rome, to haue so farre degenerate from the auncient) are the very essentiall parts of faith, then maintained

ned by the Romans: And the contrarie opinions nothing else, but wicked heresies, of old inuented, and obstinately held against the same Roman Sea, *euen as they are now in our time: and of old also condemned by the same Church in her most flourishing and best estate. Wherefore your most excellent Maiestie, being resolute in that singular good opinion, (that no church ought further to depart from the Church of Rome, then shee is departed from her selfe in her flourishing estate) must needs recall the Church of England, from such extrauagant opinions, to ioyne with the Roman church in the aforesaid articles, which shee in her best time held for parts of pure faith: And in all others also which they cannot directly prooue (in a lawfull disputation before your Maiestie) to haue beene altered by her, particularly naming the point of Doctrine; the author of the chaunge: the time and place, where and when he liued; who followed him, who resisted him, and such other like circumstances, which all be easely shewed in euery such reuolt or innouation: because the vigilant care of the Pastors of Christs flocke, haue beene alwaies so great, as no such things could be vnknown, let slippe, or vnrecorded.*

Thus much for my first reason, collected from the vntruth of the Protestants religion.

R. Abbot.

Now that we haue taken away M. Bishops premisses it is no hard matter to gesse what will become of his conclusion. He dreameth he hath conuinced much against vs, when indeed all that hee hath done, is but to conuince himselfe of ignorance & folly. We are agreed that the ancient Roman faith be maintained. It hath beene iustified that the faith which we professe is the auncient Roman faith. Now therefore his *most excellent Maiestie being resolute in that singular good opinion, that no Church ought further to depart from the church of Rome then shee is departed from her selfe in her flourishing estate*, must needes detest

Poperie as a wicked Apostasie from the auncient Romane faith, and continue the Church of England in the religion alreadie established by law according to the prescript rule of the word of God, and the example of the most auncient Roman church. Now he would make his Maiesty beleeue that there are *sundry other heades of our religion* wherein he could shew that we haue swarued from the old faith; wonder but he would tell vs as Bristow did, that we haue renewed [a] *twenty fiue old heresies at the least, and deuised at least a thousand of our owne.* They are noble ladds and will not loose the whetstone for want of tongue. But indeed M. Bishop hath spitt the worst of his poison already and by that that he hath saied we haue cause lightly to esteeme of the rest that he can say. But the rest that he can say I see is but little: his purpose is to put vs to the iumpe to say for our selues; for he would haue his *Maiesty to ioine with the church of Rome in all other articles which we cannot directly prooue in a lawfull disputation before his Maiestie to haue beene altered by her, particularly naming the point of doctrine, the author of the chaunge, the time and place where and when he liued, who followed him, who resisted him, and such other like circumstances.* What? and must we haue all this adoe to prooue an alteration? If the Physicion hauing left M. Bishop well in health in the beginning of the yeere come to him in the ende and giue him to vnderstand that he is ouertaken with the iaundice or the dropsie, will he not beleeue him vnlesse he can tell him when & vpon what occasion he began to change? When I see the hand of the diall remooued from one to two, shal I be so madde as to thinke it standeth still where it was, because I could not discerne the stirring of it? Polititians obserue that corruptions are bred in common wealths as diseases are in bodies: they are not discerned but in their growth, and insensibly they proceede many times till it come to passe which Liuie said of the Roman state: [b] *Nec vitia nostra nec remedia ferre possumus: We can neither endure*

[a] *Brist. Demaund.* 38.

[b] *Liui. Dec. 1. lib. 1.*

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our faults nor the redresse of them. Is it so in common wealths & is it not so in churches? was it so in the empire of Rome, and might it not be so in the church of Rome? O no, by no meanes: *all circumstances be easely shewed*, saith M. Bishop, *in euery such reuolt or innouation, because the vigilant care of the Pastours of Christs flocke hath beene alwaies so great as no such thinges could be vnknowen, let slippe or vnrecorded.* But how then standeth that that our Sauiour Christ telleth vs in the Gospell that [c] *by the sleeping* of the husbandman the enemy should take his opportunity to sow tares in the Lords field? How is it that in *the* [d] *forehead of the whoore of Babylon is written, A mysterie*, and that the working of Antichrist is called [e] *A mysterie of iniquity*, but because mystically, couertly, secretly he shall winde his abhominations into the church of Christ? euen as the Apostle S. Peter saith of the *false prophets* that should come that [f] *priuily they shall bring in damnable heresies.* S. Austen saith that in his time [g] *allwas full of humane presumptions with the seruile burdens whereof men were so presse as that the Iewes estate vnder their legall ceremonies was more tolerable then the state of Christians.* Now M. Bishop belike can tell that which S. Austin could not tell by whom these presumptions came into the church, what they were, the time and place when and where they began, who followed and who resisted them, because the *vigilant care of the pastors of Christs flocke hath alwaies beene such as no such things should be vnknowen, let slippe or vnrecorded.* Nay to come neerer to him what might be the cause that [h] Pope Sixtus the fift and Clement the eighth corrected so many things in the Vulgar Latin text of the scriptures? If there were any errours therein, surely M. Bishop, I trow can tell vs by whom they first came in, where and when they first began, and who found fault therewith, *because the vigilant care of the pastours of Christs flock hath beene alwaies such as no such things could be vnknowen, let slippe or vnrecorded.* What was the cause of the late reforming of their Portesses and Primers when for

[c] *Matth.* 13 24.
[d] *Apoc.* 17.5.
[e] *2. Thess.* 2.7.
[f] *2. Pet.* 2.1. παρεισάξουσι.
[g] *August. epist.* 119.
[h] *Biblia vulgat. edit. Rome anno Dom.* 1590. 1592. 1593.

verie

verie shame they would no longer continue to vse them as they had done? Was it as the Pope saide, that [i] *they were filled with vaine and superstitious errours*, and that manie things were crept into them which were [k] *full of vncertaintie and much amisse*? Let it appeere, M. Bishop, by whom those superstitions were brought in, where and when they first grew, who followed them, who resisted them, or else require to haue your Portesses in like sort as you had them before that still you may sing of Thomas Becket:

[i] *Præfat. offic. beat. Mar. virg. nuper reform.*

[k] *Præfat. breui. Rom. reformat.*

[l] *Breuiar. in translat. S. Thom. Cantuar.*

[l] *Tu per Thomæ sanguinem quem pro te impendit*
Fac nos Christe scandere quò Thomas ascendit.
By the bloud of Thomas which for thee he did spend,
Make vs O Christ to climbe whether Thomas did ascend,

because the *vigilant care of the Pastors of Christes flocke hath alwaies beene such as that no such innouations could be vnknowen, let slippe, or vnrecorded.* Or if the care of the Pastors of the Church of Rome haue not beene such but that so manie such enormities of corruptions and superstitions grew into the very text of Scripture, and the Portesse and church-seruice, may we not thinke that much more in other matters by want of care and vigilancy in the pastours, corruptions and errors might spring vp in the church and haue liberty to spread and grow therein? Now we doubt not but such hath beene the watchfulnesse of Satan that he hath omitted no occasions that possibly might be taken to aduantage himselfe to get ground, and gaine to his sonne Antichrist a kingdome in the church. Who laying continuall siege to this Ierusalem the city of God hath beene woont like a politicke warriour with maine force to assault it on some one side that the strength of the citie being gathered thither for defence he might the more securely vndermine it other-where. For thus by notorious heretickes the Carpocratians, Valentinians, Basilidians, Marcionites, Manichees, Arians and others oppugning the great towers and fortresses of Christian

Christian faith, he mightilie busied the fathers of the church that whilest they were forced to look, as I may saie, to the maine chance and therefore were perforce the lesse heedy otherwise, he might take his opportunity stealingly to get in first a finger, and then a thumb, and then a hand and an arme and so the rest till at length he had by his lieutenant fully seated himselfe in the temple of God, and brought the outward state of the church in a manner wholly in subiection to himselfe. And to this purpose he laied his foundations euen in the time of the Apostles, so that they giue to vnderstād that [m] *the mystery of iniquity was* then *working*, and that [n] *Antichrist euen then was already in the world*. Then did he labour by the false Apostles to corrupt the doctrine of iustification by faith, as appeareth by the epistle to the Galatians. Then did he seeke to peruert men by counterfeit messages and writinges vnder the[o] name of the Apostles. Then did a certaine priest write a fable, as before was said, of [p] *the peregrination of Paul and Tecla* for the commendation of virginity, and being thereof conuicted by the Euangelist S. Iohn was deposed for his paines. But well is it noted by Egesippus that [q] *so long as the Apostles liued the church continued a virgin and vncorrupt, false teachers for that time lurking in secret*, because they found the Apostles still ready to checke and crosse their attempts: *but when the Apostles were dead and that generation was gone which had immediately with their owne eares heard their preaching of saluation, then a conspiracy of wicked errour began by the seducements of such as deliuered strange doctrine, and boldly preached a falsely-named-knowledge against the preaching of the truth, because there was none of the Apostles remaining to controll them.* Then freely did there fly abroad an infinite number of counterfeit and apocryphall writings, [r] *the gospels of Taddeus, of Mathias, of Peter, of Iames, of Barnabas, of Thomas, of Andrew: the Acts of Thomas, of Andrew, of Philip: the Reuelations of Paul, of Thomas, of Stephen: the booke of the nativity of our*

[m] *2. Thes. 2. 7.*
[n] *1. Iohn 4. 3.*
[o] *2. Thes. 2. 2.*
[p] *Tertul. de Baptismo. Hierony. in Catalog. eccl. script. Lucas.*
[q] *Euseb. eccles. hist. lib. 3. ca. 29*
[r] *Gelas. decret. de Apocryph.*

Saviour and of Mary and her midwife, and a great number more of such deuises. Then went deceiuers abroad to report what [c] *Andrew and Peter and Philip and the rest had saide and done*, to whom [c] Papias gaue eare and was by them drawne into errour, and himselfe by that meanes gaue *occasion of errour to many Ecclesiasticall men that respected him for his antiquitie*, and for that he was so neere to the very time of the Apostles. In like sort those bastard writings which iustly deserued to be consumed in the fire, yet many times got credit with the Fathers of the Church, as with Chrysostome [a] *the peregrination of Peter*, fathered vpon Clement; with Ambrose & Cyprian the [x] fable of *Tecla*: with Origen, [y] *the gospell according to the Hebrewes, the Epistle of Barnabas* and sundry other; with Clemens Alexandrinus [z] *the preaching of Peter*: with whole Churches *the* [a] *Reuelation of Peter* and the *Iudgement of Peter*, and *The* [b] *the Pastour*, so that they were read publikely therein, by meanes whereof the poison which Satan had cunningly conueied into such counterfeit books was receiued as wholsome food, and sundry errours and superstitious fancies of vowed virginitie, of praier for the dead, of free will, of inuocation of Saints, of Antichrist, of the Assumption of Mary, and such like by little & little got footing in the Church. And here was indeed the true beginning of many doctrines of Poperie, when in such famed Scriptures many things were commended to the church, which in the true scriptures of the apostles were not mentioned at all, which M. Bishop pleadeth to be ancient, and we denie it not, because we know the diuell is auncient, that was the deuiser of them. Some aspersion where-of his care was to cast vpon the [c] *masters of the assemblies*, the Doctours and teachers of the church, and with humane respects to mist and dazle their eies, as knowing that it would little auaile him to plead the value of meane persons and notorious heretikes, and therefore seeking to grace his deuises with the credit and authoritie of greater names;

[c] *Euseb. eccles. hist. lib. 3. ca. 36.*
[c] *ibid.*
[a] *Chrysost. op. imperf. hom. 49.*
[x] *Ambros. epist. 82.*
Cyprian. orat. pro martyr. & sub die passionis.
[y] *Orig. in Mat. tract. 8. & in Leuit. hom. 10. & cont. Cels. lib. 1.*
[z] *Clem. Alexa. stromat. lib. 6.*
[a] *Sixt. Senens. bibl. Sanct. lib. 2. ex Niceph.*
[b] *Ruffin. in exposit. Symb.*
[c] *Eccles. 12. 11.*

names; but so as that by the prouidence of almighty God there remaineth a sufficient light amongst them for the rectifying of those things wherein they swarued from that streight and euen path which the Apostles had troden out for direction vnto them. Which God willing shall be made very pregnant & cleere in the handling of those points, wherin M. Bishop hath taken vpon him in behalfe of the Romish church to oppugne the doctrine of our church. Albeit there are some things in their practise and defence whereby their shame is laied open in all the rest; whereof the first Church which receiued [d] *all the counsell of God*, yet neuer receiued any thing, nor euer gaue anie approbation at all. The worshipping of idols and images had neuer so much as any shew of allowance from that church: It was practised as before was shewed by the Simonian heretickes, the Carpocratians, the Collyridians, and in the time of Gregorie *Magnus* began publickly to be affected, and was then resisted by Serenus bishop of Massilia, and condemned by Gregorie himselfe, and neuer got head till after that time by the idolatrous second Nicene Councell, and yet was then also withstood by a Councell at Constantinople, and by ten or twelue Christian Emperours successiuely in the East, by Charles the Great, and the Councell of Francford in the West, but in the end by the vsurpation and tyrannie of Antichrist was fully established in the Church: for the condemning whereof [e] Alphonsus de Castro imputeth errour to the auncient Father Epiphanius; so certaine is it that by him in name of the Church it was condemned at that time. Now Satan hauing had so good successe in one point of idolatrie, went presently in hand with another, and set a foote the doctrine of Transubstantiation, euen about the time of that second Nicene Councell, almost eight hundred yeeres after the birth of Christ. The same was debated to and fro, till at length [f] Carolus Caluus king of Fraunce, taking knowledge of it [g] sent to *Ioannes Scotus*

[d] *Act.* 20. 27.

[e] *Alphons. de hær. lib. 8. tit. Imago.*

[f] *Trithem. Abb.* [g] *Ioan. Bertram. de corp. & sang. Domini.*

with a priest, a man famous for his learning, to know his iudgement thereof, who then wrote against it his booke *De corpore & sanguine Domini*; *Of the body and bloud of our Lord*; and by strong arguments and authorities of the Fathers, impugned that new deuise: which booke the Spanish Censours would not haue to be wholly suppressed [h] *because* forsooth *we should not say that they made away such writings of antiquitie as did make for vs*, but yet to secure themselues, they haue taken out such speciall arguments as made against them, and appointed the booke so to be Printed, shamefully abusing the Reader, to make him thinke he hath that which he hath not, because the booke wanteth that that it should haue. At that time liued also *Ioannes Scotus*, not he that was surnamed *Duns*, but another, a man for his singular learning highly esteemed with the same Charles, who wrot also a treatise [i] *De Eucharistia*; *Of the Eucharist or* Sacrament of the Lords Supper, purposely against that point. The newnesse of which doctrine may heereby be conceiued, not onely for that Gelasius the bishop of Rome determined flatly against it, that [k] *by the Sacraments which we receiue of the body and bloud of Christ we are made partakers of the diuine nature, and yet there ceaseth not to be the substance or nature of bread and wine*; but also for that they themselues confesse that in the auncient writers there is [l] *seldome mention of it*, indeed none at all; and that as touching the secrets thereof of *accidents without any subiect*, and *accidents onely nourishing and feeding without any substance*, and such like, [m] *Posterior atas per Sp. Sanctum addidit*; *later time added them by the instinct of the holy ghost*: whereas Chrysostome telleth vs, that [n] *if any of them that are saide to haue the holy Ghost doe speake of himselfe and not out of the Gospell, he is not to be beleeued: If he read* it not *written, but speake of himselfe, it is manifest that he hath not the holy Ghost.* Yea [o] Scotus, Cameracensis, and others doe plainly confesse that Transubstantiation cannot be enforced by the Gospell, no nor by any testimonies

[h] *Index Ex Purgator. in castigat. Bertram.*

[i] *Lanfranc. de Sacram. Euchar.*

[k] *Gelas. cont. Eutych. & Nestor.*

[l] *Alfons. de Cast. lib 8. tit. Indulg.*

[m] *Index Expurg in Castigat. Bertram.*

[n] *Chrysost. de Sanct. & orand. spiritu.*

[o] *Chemnic. in Examin. Concil. Trident. de Transubst.*

stimonies of the auncient church, and [p] Scotus affirmeth as Bellarmine himselfe confesseth, that *before the Lateran Councell it was no article of faith.* And it is woorthy to be obserued also that the same Bellarmine acknowledgeth, [q] *that it may well be doubted whether there be any place of Scripture euidently to proone Transubstantiation otherwise then that their church hath declared it so to be, because verie learned, and acute men, such as Scotus was, doe thinke the contrarie.* It had neuer publicke approbation for a thousand yeeres after the time of Christ, nor euer full confirmation vntill the Councell of Laterane, which was two hundred yeeres more; where was *plena curia, a full court* for the receiuing and setting vp of the idoll * *Maozim*, the God of Antichrist, thencefoorth with diuine honours to be adored & worshipped of all. Together herewith grew the notable abuse of the celebration of the Lords Supper, which many ages of the first church were neuer acquainted with: the sacrament ordinarily to be receiued by the Priest only, and when it is receiued by the people to be receiued only in one kinde. Looke the old councels, the fathers, the stories; see the descriptions of church-seruice in Dionysius, Iustinus Martyr, in the Liturgies true or feigned of Iames, of Basil, of Chrysostome, of Ambrose or whatsoeuer other ancient records; it is not found euer to haue beene so ordered in any church throughout the whole Christian world. Yea some of them confesse that [r] *it is not knowen when the custom* of their halfe communion *began:* that it *crept in first by custome by the conniuence of the Bishops and after was confirmed and established by law*, so idle a fancy is it which M. Bishop doteth vpon, that *the vigilant care of the pastours of Christs flocke hath alwaies beene such as that no such innouations could be vnknowen, let slippe or vnrecorded.* Their Purgatorie fire was scant kindled foure hundred yeeres after the time of Christ, and when it was begunne, yet for many hundreds of yeeres after it was neuertaken to be the iurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome that he should

[p] *Bellar. de Sacram. Euchar. lib. 3. c. 23.*

[q] *Ibi.*

* *Dan. 11. 38.*

[r] *Coster. Enchirid. cap. 10. Gregor. de Valent. lib. de Eucharist. cap. 10.*

haue power himselfe or should giue power to others by Indulgences and pardons to deliuer soules from thence: so that they being put to giue a reason how it should be that the Pope should haue such a power of pardoning and there should be no vse nor example thereof for a thousand yeeres after Christ, like shameles and vnblushing harlots and hypocrites they tell vs, that [f] *in former ages of the church great penance and satisfaction was enioyned and willingly susteined, and then was the lesse pardoning and fewer indulgences, because in that voluntary vse and acceptation of punnishment, and great zeale and feruor of spirit euerie man fulfilled his penance and few asked pardon. Now in the fall of deuotion, and lothsomenes that men commonly haue to doe great penance, though the sinnes be far greater then euer before, yet our holie mother the Church knowing with the Apostle the cogitations of Satan, how he would in this delicate time driue men either to desperation, or to forsake Christ and his church and all hope of saluation, rather then they would enter into the course of canonical discipline enioyneth small penance and seldome vseth extremity with offenders, but condescendeth to the weakenesse pardoneth exceeding often and much not only all enioyned penance, but also all or great parts of what temporall punnishment so euer due or deserued either in this world or in the next.* *Ah* sweete mother church, well fare thy heart that hast gotten such a rich [t] *treasure of the superfluities of the sufferinges of the Virgin Mary and all the Saints,* such as Peter and Paul neuer knew, nor any old father or Bishop throughout the whole world euer dreamed of; thereby to relieue thy delicate and tender babes in this latter age & to keepe them both from purgatory in the world to come, and from doing too much penance in this world. No woonder if thy obedient children make much of so kinde and pitifull a mother. Sweete mother, did I say? nay filthy and vnnaturall thrumpet which poisoneth her owne children, and feedeth them with ashes in steede of bread: which maketh them to trust to her Pardons for deliuerance from Purgatory fire that for want of the

[f] *Rhem. Annot. in 2. Cor. 2. 11. Alphons. de Castro. adu. haref. lib. 8. tit. Indulgentie.*

[t] *Bellarm. de Indulgent. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

the true pardon they may be cast into hell fire. Shameless harlot *wouldest thou goe about*, I will not say *after foure hundred yeeres* as Hierome said, but after a thousand yeeres, [u] *to teach men that which they neuer knew before? wouldest thou bring foorth to the world that which Peter and Paul would not deliuer or teach?* For a thousand yeeres the *Christian world was without these doctrines*, without thy Pardons and Iubilees, without thy puppets and mammets, thy Agnus deis, thy halowed graines, thy halowed beades and such other excrementall stuffe, and deest thou now tell vs in the ende of the world that these things are helpfull to our soules, and further vs to the remission and forgiuenesse of sinnes? It was thirteene hundred yeeres after the birth of Christ that the yeere of *Iubilee* was deuised by Boniface the eight [x] *a man vnspeakeably thirsting after gold howsoeuer it were gotten*; [y] who tooke vpon him to grant to euery one that would come to Rome that yeere and visite the churches of Peter and Paule he should haue most full and perfect remission of all his sinnes; alwaies presupposed that [z] *no man must appeare before the Lord empty*. And to make way to that authoritie whereby he might doe this, and the Pope alwaies what he list it was another of the same name Boniface the third that obteined of Phocas the murtherer to be [a] *the head and* vniuersall Bishop of the church, whence the Canonistes did first lift him vp to be [b] *vicarius dei in terris, Gods lieutenant generall vpon the earth*, and persuaded him [c] that he was *not a meere man*: [d] *he was neither God nor man but a mungrell betwixt both*, whereupon he hath taken vpon him [e] *superiority ouer emperours and kings* and chalengeth to himselfe authority [f] *to depose them*, and hath required them to [g] *sweare fidelitie and allegiance to him*, and released [h] othes of fidelity and alleagiance to them, that it might be [i] lawfull for their subiects to rise in armes and to rebell against them; thinges so impious, so new and strange and so wholly repugnant to the conceipt and practise of the auncient church as that we may woonder at the iron foreheades

[u] *Hieronym. ad Damach. & Ocean. de error. Origen.*

[x] *Platina. in Bonifac. 8.*

[y] *Extrau. de pœnit. & remiss. a. Antiquorum.*

[z] *De consecrat. dist. 1. cap. Omnis Christianus.*

[a] *Platin. in Bonifac. 3.*

[b] *Sext. Proem. in glossa.*

[c] *Decret. Greg. de transl. episco. ca. Quanto.*

[d] *Clement. Proem. in glossa.*

[e] *Ibid. de appellat. cap. sæpe floralis.*

[f] *Sext. de Sententi. & re iudicata. c. Ad Apostolicæ.*

[g] *Dist. 63. Tibi domino.*

[h] *Sext. vt supra.*

[i] *Bulla Pij 5. cont. regin. Elizabeth.*

heades of these men, who setting their eies full vpon the sunne take it vpon their soule that it shineth not: and when their nouelties are such as cannot be denied yet will say, as M. Bishop doth, that *the Church of Rome now teacheth the same in all points of religion that shee did of old in her best and most flourishing estate.* What is it but the schoolemens nouelte to affirme seuen sacraments? what is but nouelty to attribute so much to the merits of Moonkes and Fryars as that they can [k] *dare participium bonorum operum suorum: make other men partakers of their good works?* What is it but nouelty that Hosius telleth vs [l] *that if a man haue the interpretation of the church of Rome of any place of scripture he hath the very worde of God, though he doe not see how it standeth with the wordes?* What is it but nouelty to make the Bishop of Rome the oracle of the church, that his definitiue sentence should be the ending of all controuersies of faith? or if it were so taken in the primitiue church what needed that trouble of generall councels to assemble the Bishops from all partes of the world, when all might briefely be decided by the word of his mouth? at least why did they not giue reason of their assembling themselues in that sorte when matters might haue been ended by a shorter course? Now since by these and sundrie other such nouelties it plainly appeareth that there is so great difference of the church of Rome that now is from that that was of old, it shall not be materiall to looke to all those circumstances that M. Bishop speaketh of to examine when or how or by whom those differences first began, neither will we betray our owne saluation by forgoing the true faith of the auncient church of Rome because men haue bin sparing to lay open their owne shame by acknowledging their innouations in the new. As for those corruptions for which they can pretend some shew of antiquitie they haue therein also plaied their parts, and haue increased a blister to a botche, and of a light itch haue made a foule leprosie, and turned errours into heresies, and customes of obseruations into meritorious

[k] *Math. Paris. in Henr. 3. de Cisterciensib.*

[l] *Hosius de expresso dei verbo.*

meritorious workes of religion, and haue in a manner extinguished al true conscience and comfortable vse of Christian faith. And thus much concerning M. Bishops first reason, wherein he tooke vpon him to shew the vntruth of the Protestants religion, and in the examination thereof is found to leaue truth to the religion of the Protestants, and to take vntruth to his owne; the Protestants religion teaching nothing but what accordeth with the faith and religion that hath beene formerly embraced in the auncient church of Rome, though wholly exploded in the new.

14. W. BISHOP.

The second shall be grounded vpon the vngodlinesse of it, where I will let passe that high point of impietie, that they make God (who is goodnesse it selfe) the author of all wicked actions, done in the world: And will besides say nothing of that their blasphemie against our Sauiour Iesus Christ, that he ouercome with the paines of his passion vpon the Crosse, did doubt, (if not dispaire) of his owne saluation: being vnwilling to touch any other points, then such as are afterwards discussed in this booke.

R. ABBOT.

The second reason was not vsed by M. Bishop with any opinion to mooue thereby his most excellent Maiesty, because he knew that his Maiestie being a professour of the Protestant religion, and well vnderstanding what he professeth, is able to acquit the same of all vngodlinesse, and therefore cannot but take him for a liar and slaunderer that chargeth impietie there where indeed there is no such thing. But he would write it notwithstanding to continue in his Catacatholicke [a] *blinde-obedient* as they themselues iustly terme them, a detestation of religion, whilest, seely soules, they beleeue these lewde caitifes, buzzing into their eares lies and tales of impieties and blasphemies,

[a] *Reply to the Iesuites Apologie.*

which neuer any man imagined or dreamed of. Who if they knew the impieties and blasphemies that are truely charged vpon Poperie, they would spit in the faces of these harlots, and detest those abhominations which now through their delusions and of ignorance they so deuoutly doe embrace. Is it not a horrible impietie that standeth written in their law, [b] *Our Lord God the Pope? To beleeue that our Lord God the Pope might not so decree as he hath decreed, should be accounted heresie.* Is it not impietie that they say, *that* [c] *if the Pope being careless of the saluation of his brethren, doe draw innumerable soules with him to hell by heapes, yet no mortall man may presume to reproue his faults, &c.* Is it not impious which is so often repeated by their Canonists, that [d] *the Pope may dispense against the Apostle,* or which Bodine himselfe a Papist hath obserued as a rule of theirs, that [e] *he is safe enough with God, who by the Pope is freed from the lawes of God?* Are they not to be detested as impious speeches, which before haue beene mentioned whereby they seeke to disgrace the Scriptures of God? Is it not an impious paradoxe which M. Bishop hath set downe, [f] *that in the man newly baptized there is no more sinne then was in Adam in the state of innocencie,* or that which other of them haue taught, that [g] *the entring into religious orders and putting on of a monkes cowle is of the same vertue and grace that Baptisme is?* What doe you thinke M. Bishop? is it not impietie and blasphemie which was broached by [h] *Thomas Aquinas, one,* you say, *of the principall pillars of the Romish church,* and by your schoolemen his followers maintained, that [i] *if a dogge or a mouse doe eate the consecrated host,* it is *the very body of Christ* which the dogge eateth: or if it be cast into the dirt, it is the very body of Christ that lieth in the dirt; or if a spider or anie poison be cast into the consecrated cup, that [k] *the bloud of Christ,* as Antoninus saith, *is infected therewith*; or if a man *cast vp the sacrament or voide it before digestion into the draught that it is still the body and bloud of Christ*;

[b] *Extraua. Ioann. 22. Cum inter. in glossa.*
[c] *Dist. 40. si Papa.*
[d] *Dist. 34. Lector. in glossa. 25. Sunt quidam in glossa. &c.*
[e] *Bod. in De republ. lib. 1. ca. 6.*
[f] *Pag. 32.*
[g] *Tho. Aquin. 4. sentent. dist. 4 Hospinian. de Orig. Monach. lib. 6. cap. 18. ex Henr. Kune.*
[h] *Pag. 18.*
[i] *Thom. Aquin. p. 3. q. 80. art. 3. ad. 3.*
[k] *Anton. summ. part. 3. tit. 13. cap. 6. p. 3. de defect. Missæ.*

Christ; or [l] if a wicked man doe eate the sacrament, the body of Christ is still in his belly as long as bread is before it be digested; or that he [m] *should be commended as a man of great zeale* that would eate the sacrament being voided or taken out of the belly of a man or a mouse, or a dogge, as *one Goderanus did when a leper with filthy phlegme had cast it vp*? O execrable villaines who for the maintenance of their monster of Transubstantiation haue made themselues the authours of so prodigious and accursed fancies! Doe you know these things in your owne bookes, M. Bishop, and would you goe about to obiect impiety of doctrine to vs? But yet tell vs further, I pray: will ye not giue vs leaue to hold it for an impiety which Harding and Bellarmine in fauor of the Popes reuenue of harlotry doe tel vs, that publicke stewes are [n] *a necessary euill*, and that [o] *the magistrate sinneth not in appointing a place for them*? May we not take it for an impious and vngodly doctrine which you teach that [p] *it is better and lesse sinne for a man that hath vowed single life to keepe a concubine or a whoore*, nay *many whoores then to marry a wife*? Is it not a singular point of impiety and sacriledge which you affirme that [q] *the crucifixe is to be worshipped with the same worship that is due to the holy Trinity*? Is it not a damnable doctrine which is deliuered by your schooleman Holcot: [r] *that a man may merit by an erroneous and wrong faith albeit it fall out that thereby he worship the diuell*? Was it not a notable impiety and blasphemy that was deliuered by your friend Tecelius the pardoner, that his pardons were of that vertue that [s] *if a man had defiled the blessed Virgin and gotten her with child he might by the paiment of mony be freed thereby*? Are these floures found to haue growen in the garden of the fathers? Are you they that in all points teach the same doctrine that the church of Rome did when shee was in her best estate? [t] *Ye serpents, ye generations of vipers how should ye escape the damnation of hell*? [u] *ye haue alwaies resisted the holy ghost*, and studied [x] *to peruert the streight waies of the Lord*. Yea cry out, *antiquitie*,

[l] *Thom. Aquin. vt supra in corp.*
[m] *Antoni. vt supra.*
[n] *Harding Confutat. of the Apolog.*
[o] *Bellarm. de Amission. grat. & stat. peccat. lib. 2. cap 18.*
[p] *Cosler. Enchir. cap. 15. propo. 9. Sleidan. Comm. lib. 4. Campag. Cardinal. orat. Pigh. Cont. 15. de cœlib sacer.*
[q] *Andrad Orthod. explicat. lib. 9.*
[r] *Rob. Holcot. Citatur a Laurent. Humfred. de vita & obitu Iuelli. pagin. 120.*
[s] *Sleiden. Comment. lib. 13.*
[t] *Mat. 23. 33.*
[u] *Act. 7. 51.*

antiquitie, antiquitie, when ye haue made a monster of that faith that was professed by antiquitie. But goe on, fulfill the measure of your forefathers, that ye may receiue a full measure of reuenge at the handes of that God whose truth you haue wilfully blasphemed and railed at. Now the first point of vngodlinesse wherewith this Elymas chargeth our religion is, that we *make God the author of all wicked actions that are done in the world.* But it was woonder that he staied there, and did not vary the words as did his fellow Wright that foulemouthed dogge, [y] *that the protestants make God the authour of sinne, the only cause of sinne, that man sinneth not; that God is worse then the diuell.* A filthy sinne who wallowing in the mucke and dirt of Popish ignorance hath his eies so daubed vp therewith that he seeth not his owne way. But his head is crushed and he hath no more to say: yet M. Bishop to keepe their occupation going rubbeth here againe vpon the same place. He telleth vs that *we make God the author of all wicked actions that are done in the world.* But where doe ye finde that M. Bishop? shew vs the place; set downe the words; doe not bringe vs your collection but our owne assertion: for you are like spiders and toades which gather venime and poison from sweete flowers and wholsome herbes. Vndoubtedly you will incurre the brand for charging vpon vs that that you cannot prooue. Our bookes deny that that you say: in our churches and schooles we determine the contrarie. We say and you will say no lesse, that God is the authour of all actions in the world; for [z] *in him we liue and mooue and haue our being,* and without him we liue not, we mooue not, we haue no being. Yet we say, that sinne is wholly and only of man himselfe, neither can we challenge God for any part or parcell thereof. Distinguish the accident from the subiect; the sinne of the action from the action it selfe: God in the one shall be glorified, and man shall iustly be condemned for the other. If M. Bishop lend M. Wright a lame horse, and the horse halteth as hee goeth,

[y] *Articles or forcible reasons.*

[z] *Act. 17. 28.*

goeth, would he not thinke much that M. Bishop should challenge him for making his horse to halt? Hee maketh the horse to goe, and guideth him to goe this way or that: but to goe halting and lame is the fault of the horse, and not of him. Euen so God by common prouidence mooueth and stirreth all men, and by a more speciall hand ordereth their way and course that they shall goe: but the iniquitie and sinne which they bewray in the meane time, euen as halting and lamenesse is of themselues and not of him. He vseth the wickednes of man, and disposeth it to such ends & purposes as he thinketh good, and sometimes in iust iudgement taketh occasion to prouoke it, and to draw out of man that that is in him, but he is not the author of it. And is this our deuise? are we the first that haue taught thus? doe we speake any otherwise then the auncient church hath spoken, or then both they and we are by the holy Scripture directed to speake? [a] *God,* saith Origen, *hath not wrought mans wickednesse, but being procured or wrought by himselfe, God though he be able so to doe, yet hindereth it not, but vseth the same togither with them from whom it commeth for necessarie purposes. He maketh not men wicked, but being wicked, he by the iust and vnspeakeable course of his prouidence according to their owne disposition, ordereth and disposeth of them:* because [b] *he knoweth how to vse to good purpose the wickednesse of such as are fallen awaie from him.* To the same purpose S. Austen also notablie speaketh: [c] *It is in the power of euill men to sinne, but in sinning by their wickednesse to doe this or that it is not in their power, but in the power of God who separateth the darkenesse, and ordereth the same, that euen in that which they doe against the will of God, yet not any other thing but what God will may be done.* [d] *He doth not make the wils of men euill, but vseth the same notwithstanding as he will;* [e] *inclining and mooning their wil, that he may doe by them what he will doe by them, and vniustly willeth nothing.* [f] *Thus he vsed Iudas to betray Christ, and the Iewes to crucifie Christ:* they were wicked of themselues,

[a] *Origen. in Numer. hom. 23.*

[b] *Cont. Celsum. lib. 6.*

[c] *August. de Prædest. Sanct. cap. 16.*

[d] *Cont. Iulian. Pelag. l. 5. ca. 3.*

[e] *De grat. & lib. arbit. ca. 21.*

[f] *Ibid. cap. 20.*

selues, but he vsed their wickednesse to those ends, *thereby to worke good to them that afterward should beleeue in him.* And thus for vnthankfulnesse, and wilfull contempt of his goodnesse and glory, God in fearefull iudgement vseth the wickednesse of men against themselues to their owne greater confusion, giuing them ouer to runne headlong thereby to greater sinnes, that they may receiue the greater damnation, [e] *blinding their eies and hardning their hearts,* [h] *giuing them vp to their owne imaginations,* [i] *to vile affections, to a reprobate sense, sending them* [k] *lying spirits and strong delusion that they may beleeue lies;* [m] *causing in them peruersenesse and frowardnesse of heart, not to hearken to the trueth that is spoken to them*; and all this not by working any new wickednesse in them, but by prouoking and ministring occasions to that wickednesse that is in them of themselues: the occasions not being euill, nay tending of themselues to good, but they being like to the sorrie grounde that turneth sweete raine to hurtfull weeds; like the corrupt stomacke that of good food groweth more sicke; like the carion that by the comfortable sun-shine stinketh the more: as [n] to Pharao the respect of the benefite of his common-wealth, an occasion to oppresse the people of God; to [o] Ieroboam the vnfortunate death of the Prophet by whom hee was reproued of his idolatry, an occasion to him of continuing therein; to [p] Sennacherib the king of Assyria his succesſe against idoll Gods, an occasion to blaspheme the liuing God: to wicked men commonly [q] the patience of God & their prosperous estate an occasion to make them worse and worse: To be short there is a dreadfull iudgement and may not be denied when God taketh course [r] *vt crimina criminibus vindicentur, et supplicia peccatorum non tormenta sint sed incrementa vitiorum: that sinnes be reuenged with sinnes, and the punishments of euill doers be no torments to them but additions to their euill doings:* all which notwithstanding we so teach according to the scriptures and acknowledge-

[e] *Iohn* 12.40.
[h] *Psal.* 81.12.
[i] *Rom.* 1.26.28.
[k] 1. *Kings* 22. 23.
[m] 2. *Thess.* 2.11.
[n] *Aug. cont. Iulian li.* 5. *c.* 3.
[o] *Exod.* 1.9.10.
[p] 1. *King.* 13. 1. 24. *Ioseph. Antiqui. Iudaici. l.* 8. *c.* 3.
[q] 2. *Kings* 19. 11.12.
[r] *Prou.* 1.32. *Origen. de princip. lib.* 3. *cap.* 1.
[s] *Aug. cont. aduers. leg. de prophet. li.* 1. *ca.* 24.
[t] *Psal.* 51.4.

knowledgement of the church as that [r] *God is iustified in his sayings and found cleere when he is iudged*, and the roote of sinne affirmed to grow from no other but only from the heart of man. So that this first point of impietie wherewith M. Bishop chargeth vs is a fruite of his malice, no fault of our doctrine, and the second is the like: *that our Saviour Christ ouercome with the paines of his passion vpon the crosse did doubt (if not despaire) of his owne saluation.* A great lie is as easily told as a little, and because it is your custome we must beare with you. We neither say that Christ was ouercome with the paines of his passion, nor that he did either despaire or doubt of his owne saluation. We beleeue that the anguish and paines which Christ suffered for vs were vnspeakeable, and the vttermost that the fraile nature of man was capable of; whilest he gaue *not only his body for our bodies but* [s] *his soule also for our soules*, and [u] *descended euen to the depth of death, and all the terrour of that tempest that raged against vs lighted vpon him*: whilest [x] *in himselfe he did beare the wrath that was conceiued against vs for sinne, euen* [y] *the bitternesse of that wrath which arose by the transgression of the law, that he might swallow it vp and make it voide* towards vs: so as that rightly he might vse the words of the Psalme, [a] *Thine indignation lieth hard vpon me and thou hast vexed me with all thy stormes*: that is as Hierome expoundeth it; [b] *Thou hast brought vpon me that wrath and storme of thy fury and indignation which thou wouldest haue poured out vpon the nations, because I haue taken vpon me their sinnes.* The burden of which wrath lay so heauy vpon him as that it presled him euen to the gates of hel, & his state for present feeling was as if God had [b] *abhorred his soule:* yet so as that in the middest of all that anguish he was supported with an inuincible assurance of his fathers loue, and constanly expected the [c] *loosing of the sorows of death*, knowing it to be *impossible that he should be holden thereby*; and therefore betwixt both vttered that most bitter complaint vpon the crosse; [d] *My God, my God why hast thou forsaken*

[r] *Iren. adu. haer. lib. 5.*
[s] *Hilar. in Psal. 68.*
[x] *Athanas. de interpret. Psal.*
[y] *In Euang. de pass. & cruce Domini.*
[a] *Psal. 88. siue vt vulg. 87. Arnob. in eund. Psal. applieth the whole to Christ.*
[b] *Hieron. in Psal. 87.*
[b] *Psal. 88.*
[c] *Act. 2. 24.*
[d] *Mat. 27. 46.*

ken

ken me : according to faith saying, *My god, my god:* according to present feeling, *why hast thou forsaken me?* This doe we teach and no otherwise, no nor Caluin vpon whom you are woont lewdly to father this blasphemy of your owne, who plainly saith : [r] *Although for a moment of time the diuine power of the spirit did hide it selfe to giue place to the weakenesse of the flesh, yet must we know that the temptation by feeling of sorow and feare was such as was not against faith: when he felt himselfe as it were forsaken of God, yet he did nothing at all swarue from the trust of his goodnesse.* Whereby we may see what kinde of men you are with whom wee deale, euen like the caytifes and miscreants of the baselt sort of people which make it no care what they speake or how vntruely they report ; but only to vtter the bitternesse of their stomach and for the present to serue their owne turne. If the feare of God were in your harts, you could not lye in this wilfull manner as you doe against the Lord and his truth : you would remember that that is said : [t] *The mouth that telleth lies, slaieth the soule.* And yet though *Caluin* had vsed any such hard or inconuenient speech, or if either he or any other particular writer of ours doe runne into any priuate or singular opinions what is that to vs ? why should this be imputed to the church of England or the doctrine established by publicke authority therein, when as it teacheth or mainteineth no such thing ? Or if you will thus vpbraide vs with any mans priuate fancies you must giue vs leaue by the same rule to charge this for a blasphemie vpon you, deliuered by Ferus your owne preacher at Mentz, who plainly affirmeth that [s] *Christ did take to himselfe not only our punishment, but also desperationem nostram, our despaire : that he tooke vpon him the punishments of sinne, feare, trembling, horrour of death and hell, despaire, death and hell it selfe, that by feare he might ouercome feare, by horrour he might ouercome horrour, by despaire he might ouercome despaire.* &c. Is this found in your owne bookes and deliuered by a preacher of

[r] *Caluin. Instit. lib. 2. ca. 16. num. 12.*

[t] *Wisd. 1. 11.*

[s] *Ferus. in Mat. cap. 27.*

of your owne and doe you make vs the authors of it? Yet we doubt not to acquit Ferus of blasphemy because wee thinke he ment no otherwise then Caluin did; [b] *He wrastled with* * *despaire but yet was not ouercome: in this greeuous torment his faith was vntouched, that though deploring himselfe to be forsaken, yet he was confident that the helpe of God was neere at hand.* And thus much of the two first impieties which M. Bishop forsooth would *let passe*, when maliciously and wickedly he nameth them, and had nothing with any shew of trueth to speake further of them: now let vs see what he hath further to say as touching points afterward discussed in his booke.

[b] *Caluin. Harm. in Mat. 27.46.*

* *Not as if Christ had had in him any motions of despair, but that the godhead hiding it selfe for the time, and leauing him to that forlorne and forsaken estate, there might seeme to be matter and occasion thereof.*

15. W. BISHOP.

The triumphant Citizens of heauen (who enioy the presence of God, and happiest life that can be imagined) are by Protestants disdainfully termed, Dead men, *and esteemed neither to haue credit with God to obtaine any thing, nor any care or compassion on men, among whom they once liued and conuersed so kindly.*

R. ABBOT.

We speake not disdainefully of the Saints in heauen, but we disdaine that the Saints in heauen are heere vpon earth, not by their default, but by the fault of idolatrous and superstitious will-worshippers, consorted and matched with the God of heauen. And if in this respect wee call them *dead men*, to abase them in comparison of the liuing God, that all worship and seruice of religion may be yeelded onely to him, we doe them no wrong, nor any other thing then what the example of the auncient church hath warranted vs to doe. The auncient Father Epiphanius to condemne the Collyridian heretickes for worshipping the virgine Marie, though in farre lesse degree of worship then since the Papists haue ascribed vnto her, citeth against them as out of the Apostle, describing the [a] apostasie that

[a] *1. Tim. 4. 1.*

[b] Epiphan. hær. 78. Antidicom. should be in the last time these words; [b] Ἔσονται γὰρ νεκρῶν λατρεύοντες; *they shall be worshippers of dead men.* And whereof as they made images of her to worship them, for reproofe that absurd deuotion he saith: [c] *They are dead that are worshipped; and they bring in their images to be worshipped which neuer were aliue, their mind going a whoring from the one & only God, euen as a common harlot giuen to great absurditie of manifold fornication, and that hath forgone the temperancie of the lawfull marriage of one man.* Now if Epiphanius might lawfully speake thus concerning the virgine Marie without disparagement or disdaine, we presume that without offence we may speake in like sort of the residue of the Saints. Neither do we speake any otherwise then S. Austin did; [d] *Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum. Let it not be with vs a point of religion to worship dead men; for if they haue liued godly, they are not thought to seeke such honours, but would haue vs to worship him, by whose light they reioyce that we are followers of their good works.* [e] *We build not tẽples,* saith he, *to the martyrs as if they were Gods, but make remembrances for them as dead men whose spirits liue with God.* And againe as touching Christian martyrs he answereth Maximus the Pagan; [f] *know thou that no Catholicke Christian doth worship any dead man.* Lactantius arguing by three reasons against the idolatrie of the gentiles vseth this for one, [g] *because the images which they worshiped were the images of dead men, and vnmeete it is that man being the image of God should worship the image of a man.* Which if thus barely proposed it serued against the gentiles without respect to the qualitie of the men, I would haue M. Bishop to giue vs some good reason why we may not vnder the same termes without any default dispute against the idolatry of the Papistes. We yeeld to the Saints whatsoeuer is due vnto them; we acknowledge them happie and blessed, and doe striue to come [h] *to those spirits of iust and perfect men*; [i] *which are clothed in white and* [k] *follow the Lambe whither soeuer he goeth*; but yet we make no Gods of them neither may wee yeeld

[c] Hæres. 79. Collyridian.

[d] August. de vera relig. c. 55.

[e] De ciuit. Dei. lib. 22. cap. 10.

[f] August. ep. 44.

[g] Lactant. instit. l. 2. ca. 18.

[h] Heb. 12. 23.

[i] Apoc. 7. 9.

[k] 14. 4.

yeeld to worship them. As for their *credit with God*, wee doubt not but it is such as it concerneth them to haue; but our credit with thē, as before I noted out of Origen, must be [l] to worship only that God whom only they haue worshipped; to acknowledge that only mediator whom only they haue acknowledged. Neither doe we neede their credit to obtaine any thing of God, because Christ hath promised vs; [m] *What soeuer ye aske in my name, that will I doe, that the father may be glorified*, not in the Saints, but in his only begotten *Sonne*. As for care and compassion of vs here vpon the earth we doe not beleeue that their blisfull peace is interrupted therewith. They may wish their owne consummation and the consociation of the whole church, but as for particularities we beleeue as the scripture hath taught: [n] *Abraham knoweth vs not, and Israel is not acquainted with vs.* In a word, all this matter of *credit with God and care and compassion of men vpon earth* they are idle speculations of your owne foolish deuotions, and haue no shew at all of ground from the word of God.

[l] *Origin. cont. Celsum. lib. 8.*

[m] *Iohn 14. 13.*

[n] *Esa. 63. 16.*

16. W. Bishop.

And as for the poore soules departed, who in Purgatorie fire pay deare for their former delights and pleasures: they deprive them of all humane succour, by teaching the world to beleeue that there is no such matter.

R. Abbot.

Alas poore soules that are so strongly holden in with paper walles, and so grieuously tormented with painted fire. What a cruell Landlord haue they, that being but tenants at will, and now not in case to pay, yet cannot without a fine haue libertie to leaue their holde? What shall we thinke of the Pope? is he not a mercilesse man, if he be a man, that hauing power ouer Purgatorie at his

owne pleasure, and having authoritie to commaund the Angels to fetch the soules out from thence, and to guide them into paradise, as [a] Clement the sixt did, wil notwithstanding suffer them, poore soules, to lie frying and broiling there, and all because there friends will not be at cost to purchase their release and ease? Is he not a heard harted Physicion that keepeth his patients thus continually in grieuous torture, being able in a moment to asswage their paine, and to send the soules singing vp to heauen? Keepe you, M. Bishop, vnder his handes still, if you will; but as for vs we are warie men, and had rather saue our money for something then giue it away for nothing. Indeed you say true, that we teach men, *to beleeue that there is no such matter*; and good reason, because God himselfe hath taught vs no such, and we beleeue onely what he teacheth. We beleeue no other *purgation* from sinne, but onely by the [b] bloud of Iesus Christ through the [c] sanctification of the holy Ghost; and howsoeuer you glosse the matter, the affirming of your Purgatorie, cannot be without the empeachment of [d] *the lambe of God that taketh away the sinne of the world.* It argueth a want & weaknes in his payment, if after it we be still left, *to pay deere* for our selues. You deriue your Purgatorie from the auncient praier for the dead, but amongst sundry reasons which they gaue of their praier for the dead, Purgatorie was none, as hath been before shewed. After foure hundred yeeres, S. Austin knew no other vse of praier for the dead, but [e] either to be freed from being cast into hell, or to haue mitigation of the paines of hell. [f] Chrysostome made the same end thereof to *deliuer men* after they were dead *from euerlasting death.* And hereto agree those tales of Damascen, that [g] *Falconilla* by the praiers of *Tecla* was deliuered out of hell; & *Traian* by the praiers of *Gregorie.* Which seeing you altogether [h] denie to be the effect of praier for the dead, you cannot but acknowledge this for an errour in the Fathers, and therefore confesse, that in this behalfe there is nothing but

[a] *Balens. in Clem. 6. ex bulla eiusdem.*

[b] *Heb. 1. 3. 1. Iohn 1. 7.*
[c] *Tit. 3. 5.*
[d] *Iohn 1. 29.*

[e] *Aug de 8. quæst. Dulcit. quæst. 2. & de ciu. Dei li. 21. cap. 27.*
[f] *Chrysost. in Act. hom. 21.*
[g] *Renat. Laurent. annot. in Tertull. de bapt. ex Damascen. ser. de Mortuis orationi adiuuandis.*
[h] *Bell. de Purgat. lib. 2. c. 18.*

but vncertaintie to be found in them. And if praier for the dead must argue Purgatory, then you must needs confesse that all the Saints, all that are dead in the faith, are in Purgatorie, because you your selues doe thus praie for all; [i] *O God of the faithfull, the maker and redeemer of all men, giue to the soules of all the faithfull deceased, remission of all their sinnes, that by godlie praiers they may obteine the pardon which they alwaies desired through Christ our Lord.* And againe; [k] *Lord we beseech thee let the praier of thy humble seruants be helpefull to the soules of all the faithfull deceased, that thou maist both release them from all their sinnes, and make them partakers of thy redemption, who liuest.* &c. Yea and you pray for Leo whom you haue made a Confessour that *by your* [l] *office of attonement* vpon his day *a happy reward may be with him.* Now if you thus pray for the dead of whom notwithstanding you presume that they are free from Purgatorie, how can you denie but that the church in former time without any opinion of Purgatory might notwithstanding vse their praier for the dead? But to be short, because I haue handled this point before, the fathers haue vsed one speciall argument to proone the resurrection from the dead, which if it stand good then your Purgatory cannot stande. For if in course of iustice it be [m] necessary that the body which hath beene partaker with the soule of all that hath beene done either in righteousnesse or sinne, be also partaker of the reward of either, and hereby there be enforced necessarily a resurrection of the body to be ioined with the soule to be partaker thereof, we must from the same principle of iustice conclude that if there were a Purgatorie, it should be as well for the body as the soule, because the body hath beene partaker of those pleasures and delights for which you tell vs that the soules pay deare in Purgatorie fire. But you deny any Purgatory for the body, and therefore we conclude that you cannot truely affirme any such Purgatory for the soule. [n] *Thus shall the iudgement of God be iust,*

[i] *Breuiar. secund. vsum Sarum in Vigil. mortuor.*

[k] *Ibid.*

[l] *In festo sanct. Leonis.*

[m] *Tertul. de resurrect. carnis. Athenas. de resur. mortuor. Lactant. institut. lib. 7. ca. 21.*

[n] *Epiphan. in Ancorato.*

saith Epiphanius, *whilest both participate either punishment for sinne, or reward for vertue.* Which iust iudgement you greatly impeach by laying vpon the soule only the punishment of those sinnes which haue beene committed by the whole man. You cannot auoide but either you must forgoe your Purgatorie, or else say that the fathers erred in disputing this point.

17. W. Bishop.

Concerning vs Christians yet liuing on earth, there is no lesse impietie in their opinions: For they teach that the best Christian is no better in effect, then a whited Sepulchre, being inwardly full of all wickednesse and mischiefe; and onely by an outward imputation of Christes *righteousnesse vnto them, are accepted of God for iust. To thinke that there is inherent in the soule of Man, any such grace of God, as doth cleanse it from sinne, and make the man iust in his sight; is with them, to raze the foundation of Religion, and to make Christ, a* Pseudochrist: *wherein, I know not whether they be more enuious against the good of Man, then they are iniurious, either to the inestimable value of Christes bloud, as though it could not deserue any better estate for his fauorites: or vnto the vertue and efficacie of the holie Ghost; as not being able (by likelihood) to purge mens soules from sinne, and endue them with such heauenly qualities. I omit the disgrace thereby done to the Blessed God-head it selfe, making the* Holie of Holies, *rather willing to couer and cloake our iniquitie, then to cure it: And contrarie to his infinite goodnesse, to loue them whom he seeth defiled with all maner of abhominations.*

R. Abbot.

Whatsoeuer we teach of others, M. Bishop, we vndoubtedly know it of you that you are no other but a whited sepulcher, shewing a sweete face like a Mermaide in

in the entrance of your epistle, and bewraying a false and treacherous hart in the whole processe thereof, euen like a Harpyie beraying all that you laie hand on, and maliciously and wilfully depraying those things which are no otherwise but truely and rightly spoken. [a] *Disperdet deus labia magniloqua et linguam dolosam.* We say indeed that it is only the obedience and righteousnes of Christ performed for vs whereby we are to stand as righteous and iust before the iudgement seat of God. Which is a truth so pregnant and cleere as that [b] Pighius though a heauy enemy to the Protestants religion yet could not but acknowledge it, and hath disputed it by such reasons and proofes borowed from vs as the whole rabble of your seculars and Iesuites are not able to remooue. But we doe not by this iustification leaue a man *no better then a whited sepulcher inwardly ful of all wickednesse and mischeefe*, because we affirme by the words of Christ that [c] *repentance* is the first steppe to the obteining of it, and the faith whereby we doe obteine it is such as [d] *whereby God doth purifie the hearts*, and whereby [e] *we receiue the promise of the spirit*, by which we [f] *are borne againe* [g] *through the word of God to the* [h] *life of God*, *hauing* [i] *Christ liuing and* [k] *dwelling in our hearts*, *who being in vs*, *the* [l] *body is dead as touching sinne, but the spirit is life for righteousnesse sake*, because there being [m] *a new heart and a new spirit*, there must needes be new affections, new desires, new delights, [n] *a new man created according to God in righteousnesse and holynesse of truth*, [o] *ioying in the law of God*, *and* [p] *approouing that that is acceptable to the Lord*, *and* [q] *endeauouring to haue alwaies a cleere cõscience both towards God and towards men.* Thus doe we teach the people of God by the worde of God: thus and no otherwise doe we describe the condition and qualitie of the iustified man. This effect we affirme to be infallibly wrought in euery man that is iustified, and where it is not there is no iustification: but yet we say that this worke is perfect in no man so long as we liue in this state of mortalitie and corruption.

[a] *Psal.12.3.*
[b] *Pigh.de fide & iustificat. controu.2.*
[c] *Luc.24.47.*
[d] *Act.15.9.*
[e] *Gal.3.2.*
[f] *Iohn 3.5.*
[g] *1. Pet. 1.23.*
[h] *Eph 4.18.*
[i] *Gal.2.20.*
[k] *Eph 3.17.*
[l] *Rom.8.10.*
[m] *Ezech.36.26.*
[n] *Ephe.4.24.*
[o] *Rom.7.22.*
[p] *Eph.5.10.*
[q] *Act.24.16.*

For

For albeit the iustified man *delight in the law of god as touching the inner man*, yet he hath still in [r] *his members the law of sinne*, [f] *hanging fast on, and* [t] *lusting and rebelling against the law of the spirit of life, so that he hath within him* [u] *an army of vitious desires* as Austin saith of Ambrose, continually to fight against; which are as the [x] *Iebusite, who will we, nill we, dwelleth within our borders, yet may be subdued though he cannot be driuen out*; *as a raging* [y] *beast of stinking breath*, yet *tied and chained vp in the vttermost passages of the soule*: as a corrupt [z] *roote still sprouting out weedes*, but *yet so nipped and checked* that they cannot haue their growth. Now albeit by reason of this remainder of sinne he be greatly let and hindered [a] *that he cannot doe the thing that he would*, nor can walke so expeditely and vprightly in the way of righteousnesse as is required, yet the thing that preuaileth in him is [b] *voluntas iustitiæ, a will and desire of righteousnesse*, he [c] *hungreth and thirsteth after it*, the drift and purpose of his life tendeth wholly vnto it; it is greeuance to him that he faileth to perfourme it, and maketh him to cry out, [d] *Wretched man that I am who shall deliuer me from this bodie of death?* And therefore although he sinne yet he sinneth not [e] *maliciously, purposely, with desire and delight* in sinne, but *of ignorance and infirmity*, [f] *by occasion and by the creeping and stealing of sinne vpon him.* Now we would gladly know of M. Bishop whether it be all one to haue sinne in vs [g] *suppressed, and kept short, though not quite dead*, and to *be inwardly full of all wickednesse and mischiefe*: whether to resist sinne and fight against it be all one as to giue it way, and willingly to harbour it. And it is to be obserued also that it is the very same which M. Bishop and we both doe hold to remaine in the regenerat man. We say it is sinne, and he saith it is not sinne, but it is one and the same thing, *the concupiscence or lust of the flesh*. How then doth he say that we in affirming the remaining hereof doe make as if the regenerate man were *inwardly full of all wickednesse and mischiefe*, when he himselfe confesseth the inward remaining

[r] *Rom.7.23.*
[f] *Heb.12.1.*
[t] *Gal.5.17.*
[u] *August. cont. Iulian lib.2.*
[x] *Bernard. in Cant. serm.58.*
[y] *Cyprian. de stat. circumcis.*
[z] *Epip. hær.64.*
[a] *Gal.5.17.*
[b] *Hilar. in Psal.51.*
[c] *Mat.5.6.*
[d] *Rom.7.24.*
[e] *Origen. in Psal.36.* [f] *Ambros. in Ephes 6. Orig. in Num. hom 20.*
[g] *Epiphan. & Bernard. vt supra.*

maining of the same. A man cannot be said to be full of *all wickednesse and mischiefe* for having or being assaulted with the lusts thereof, but for applying and giuing his will and consent vnto them. Cyprian describing the state of our life here, saith: [h] *We haue to fight with couetousnesse, with vnchastity, with wrathfulnesse, with ambition, with carnall vices, with the entisements of the world. &c.* Hereof S. Austen saith: [i] *God forbid that we should thinke holy Cyprian to haue beene couetous because he fought with couetousnesse, or vnchast because he fought with vnchastitie, or wrathfull because he fought against wrath, or ambitious because he had conflict with ambition, or carnall because he had combate with carnall vices, or a louer of this world because he had fight with the entisements thereof. Nay therefore was he none of all these, because he strongly resisted these euil motions comming partly from originall condition, partly from vse of conuersation, not yeelding to be that which they pressed him to be.* Will M. Bishop now giue S. Austin the lye and tell him that by the hauing of these motions and lustes of sinne Cyprian was inwardlie full of all wickednes and mischiefe? If he will not, why doth he so charge vs who say no more of the iustified man, then Austen here speaketh concerning Cyprian? But indeed it is his malice and not his witt that leadeth him to these calumnious and leude collections. As for the comparison of [k] *a whited sepulcher*, it is vsed by our Sauiour Christ against them who did *iustifie themselues before men*, and made great semblance of holinesse outwardly, when there was in their hearts no syncerity or truth answerable thereunto. But we doe not thus affirme the condition of a true Christian man, but doe make the inward man answerable to the outward, so that there is not only a shew of righteousnesse in the face to men, but also a truth thereof in the conscience to God, euen as it is said of *Zacharie and Elizabeth*: [l] *Both were iust before God, walking in all the commaundements and ordinances of the Lord without reproofe;* to *import* as Austin saith [m] *their commendable conuersation*

[h] *Cyprian. de Mortalit.*

[i] *August. cont. Iulian lib. 2.*

[k] *Mat. 23. 27.*

[l] *Luk. 1. 6.*

[m] *August. de grat. Christi. cont. Pelag. & Celest. lib. 1. cap. 48.*

amongst men, which no man could iustly accuse or blame. Which therefore they are said to haue had before God because they did not by dissimulation deceiue men therein, but what they appeared to men, the same they were knowen to be to the eies of God. Now although there be a truth & vnfeigned simplicity in this behalfe, yet if the matter be waighed in rigour and extremity, who can free himselfe from being touched with some blemish of this corruption? [n] *who can say, My hart is cleane?* of whom doth it not take hold which is said; [o] *All men are liars?* [p] *Which of vs*, saith S. Hierome, *doth not wash the outsides of the cup and of the platter, and hath the inner side not defiled with vncleanesse? who can auoide the likenesse of sepulchers whited without, that our Lord Iesus may not say vnto vs: Ye seeme outwardly righteous to men, but within ye are full of hypocrisie and iniquitie. Albeit we may be free from other faultes, yet to haue no blot of hypocrisie is a thing found in few or none at all.* Thus by the iudgment of S. Hierome M. Bishop cannot acquit himselfe from being *a whited sepulcher full of hypocrisie and iniquity*, that hereafter he may not woonder at vs for teaching that there remaineth in the regenerate man a spot of infection and corruption, which as S. Austin saith, [q] *only for that it is in vs, should hold vs in death and bring vs to euerlasting death; but that the guilt thereof by forgiuenesse of sinnes in baptisme is pardoned vnto vs.*

[n] *Pro. 20. 9.*
[o] *Rom. 3. 4.*
[p] *Hieron. adu. Pelag. lib. 2.*
[q] *Aug. cont. Iulia. Pelag. li. 6. c. 5.*

By that that hath beene saied the answere is plaine to al the rest of M. Bishops tale. For we do not denie but that there is inherent in the soule of euerie true Christian such a grace of God as serueth to clense it from sinne, and to make the same iust in his sight, [r] *without spot or wrinkle or any such thing.* This God now beginneth by the [s] *first fruites of the spirit*, and in death he will accomplish by the full measure thereof. But to say that now it is so, is a Pelagian fancy, contrarie to experience, contrary to conscience, contrarie to our owne confessions to God, and contrarie to the word of God. Then shall the soule be *without spot*

[r] *Eph. 5. 27.*
[s] *Rom. 8. 2*

or

or wrinkle, that is, iust in Gods sight, [c] *when it shalbe glorious*, as S. Austin speaketh of the church. The time of glory is not now, but [n] *when Christ which is our life shall appeare, then shall we also appeare with him in glory*, and then shall the soule, euen the whole man be fully iust in the sight of God. In the meane time *he is in hand with the cure and healing of vs to make vs grow to that spotlesse & vnstained glorie*. So that the iustified man is yet as Austin saith, [x] *mundus et mundandus : cleane in* part, and yet in part *to be made cleane* : not so cleane whilest he liueth here, but that hee must still hearken to the Apostle; [y] *Clense your selues from all defilement of the flesh and of the spirit* : not so cleane but that of [z] *common and originall vncleannesse or maliciousnesse* there is that yet sticking, for which Christ may say to vs as he did to his Apostles, *If ye* [a] *being euill, doe know to giue good gifts to your children. &c.* And true it is indeed, that to affirme man now to be in himselfe iust and cleane in the sight of God, is to iustle Christ out of his place, and to take away from him that title of honour which the scripture hath giuen him to be called; [b] *The Lord our righteousnesse*. It is to defeate the worke of God [c] *by whome he is made vnto vs righteousnesse*, not by working in vs inherent iustice, but [d] *by the forgiuenesse of our sinnes*. We beleeue that Christ is vnto vs *Iesus, a Sauiour*, by sauing vs immediatlie himselfe, not by giuing vs power to saue our selues or to be our owne sauiours. And therefore the righteousnesse whereby we are saued is not the righteousnes which we by him doe for our selues, but that which he in his owne person hath wrought for vs : not but that we also by him doe worke righteousnesse according to the grace that is giuen to vs, but this righteousnesse is through our corruption and frailty too weake & base to stand before God for vs to be saued thereby. Neither are we herein enuious to the good of man, or iniurious to the inestimable value of Christs blud, because we acknowledge that by the vertue of his merit and bloud-shedding [e] *God hath blessed vs with*

[c] *August. de Perfect. iustit. Rat. 17.*
[n] *Col. 3. 4.*
[x] *August. in Ioan. tract. 80.*
[y] *2. Cor. 7. 1.*
[z] *Hilar. apud August. cont. Iulian. Pelag. lib. 2.*
[a] *Mat. 7. 11.*
[b] *Ierem. 33. 16.*
[c] *1. Cor. 1. 30.*
[d] *Bernard. in Cant. ser. 22.*
[e] *Eph. 1. 3.*

[f] *Cap.2.5.6.* *all manner spirituall blissings in heauenly things, and* [f] *hath quickned vs together with him, and raised vs vp together and made vs sit together in heauenly places:* yet as S. Austin saith, [g] *Nondum in re sed in spe: not yet by actuall being but by hope;* [h] *because in certaine and assured hope we now haue and hold that which indeed is yet to come.* And thus *we* [i] *by the spirit wait for the hope of righteousnesse through faith: we* [k] *hunger and thirst after righteousnesse looking to be satisfied,* because [l] *according to his promise we looke for a new heauen and a new earth wherein righteousnesse dwelleth.* Christ therefore hath purchased for his fauorites a most high and happy state, but M. Bishop is too hasty if he wil needes challenge that to present possession which God hath deferred to future expectation, whereof wee haue but the beginnings now for pledge and assurance of the whole hereafter fullie to be giuen vnto vs. And thus we detract nothing from the vertue and efficacie of the holy ghost; for we confesse that he is able to purge mens soules from sinne and to endue them with heauenly qualities: nay he is not only able to do it, but we affirme that he already doth it in part and will doe it fully and perfectly hereafter, as before hath beene declared. But if we only respect the time present, where is that freedome from sinne and that excellency of heauenly qualities that M. Bishop speaketh of? Is there such difference betwixt them and vs that we should neede to woonder at them for their heauenly qualities? Are there such heauenly qualities in their Popes and Cardinals who are the benchers for this pleading of the perfection of inherent iustice? In these late mortall warres betwixt the Iesuites and the Seculars I wonder on which side those heauenly qualities were found. Surely we know that the power of the holy ghost is able to worke in them heauenly qualities, but in truth we see none: and for you M. Bishop if your heauenly qualities be no better then according to the qualitie of your booke, I am sure they are starke naught. And till we see better qualities in you then we doe,

[g] *Aug. de bapt. cont. Donat. lib. 1. cap. 4.*
[h] *Cont. Faust. Manich. lib. 11. cap. 8.*
[i] *Gal. 5. 5.*
[k] *Mat. 5 6.*
[l] *2. Pet. 3. 13.*

doe, we must take this matter of heauenly qualities to be but a bable for fooles to play with: an idle speculation whereto nothing at all answereth in effect. Last of all we doe no *disgrace to the blessed Godhead*, because we teach no otherwise then he hath directed vs, not *that he cloaketh our iniquitie onely and doth not cure it*, but that hee so cloaketh it for the time as that hee cureth it for euer. He cloaketh and couereth our iniquitie with the righteousnesse of Christ, [m] *which is not a short cloake that cannot couer* two, saith S. Bernard, *but being a large and euerlasting righteousnesse, it will largely couer both thee and me. And in me it shall couer a multitude of sinnes, but in thee, O Lord, what but the treasures of pietie, the riches of goodnesse?* Thus S. Bernard acknowledgeth in himselfe that which M. Bishop scorneth, *the cloaking of his sinnes with the righteousnesse of Christ.* Now I hope he will not denie but that he taketh S. Bernard to haue beene a man beloued of God, and will he say that because God did cloake or couer his sinnes that therefore *he loued a man he saw defiled with al manner of abhominations?* But this is but the wideneſse of M. Bishops mouth that cannot keepe it selfe within any due phrase & compasse of speech. Let him take his answer as before by occasion of the like words. But the end of this couering and not imputing of sinnes is that they may not stand as a barre betwixt God and vs, but that the grace of God may haue accesse vnto vs, for the working of that cure which M. Bishop speaketh of. Concerning which, I answer him as S. Austin answered the Pelagians, obiecting as he doth, that *God is able to cure all*; [n] *Indeed God is able to cure all, but he doth it at his owne discretion, and doth not receiue at the patients hand an order for his cure.* He is now in hand to heale our infirmities and sicknesses, but he wil not perfect the cure [o] till *this mortall doe put on immortalitie, and this corruptible doe put on incorruption, and death be swallowed vp into victorie*, that with triumph we may say, *O death where is thy sting: O hell where is thy victorie: Thanks*

[m] *Bernard. in Cantic. ser. 61.*

[n] *August. de Natura & grat. cap. 27.*

[o] *1. Cor. 15. 54.*

be vnto God which hath giuen vs the victorie through Christ Iesus our Lord.

18. W. Bishop.

Vnto these paradoxes, impious against God, and slaunderous to Man, if it please your Maiestie to adde, the prophane carnallitie of some other points of the Protestants Doctrine; you will (doubtlesse) in short time loath it. As for example: That it is as good and godly, by eating, to feede the body, as to chastice it by fasting. That it is as holy, to fulfill the fleshly desires of it by Mariage, as by Continencie, to mortifie them; yea that it is flat against the word of God to vowe Virginitie: And also contrarie to his blessed will to bestow our goods on the poore; and to giue our selues wholly to praier, and fasting. All which, this Aduocate of the English Congregation teacheth expreslie.

Pag. 132. 162. 166. *Is this the puritie of the Gospell? Or is it not rather the high way to* Epicurisme, *and to all worldly vanitie, and iniquitie.*

R. Abbot.

You deale with vs, M. Bishop, euen as you forefathers the Montanists did with the auncient church of Rome, as if there were no meane betwixt superstitious fasting and continuall feasting; betwixt virginitie and carnality. Tertullian taking part with Montanus, and writing in behalfe of his heresie against the church of Rome, directeth it against them in this stile, [a] *Contra Psycichos: Against the carnalistes.* He calleth their doctrine, [b] *Fidem animalem, a carnall doctrine of faith; multiuorantiæ & multinubentiæ pronam: giuen to much feasting and often marying.* In his words against the Clergie of Rome then we may heare a Papist speaking against a Protestant now: [c] *Thy belly is thy God, thy lunges his temple, the altar thy paunch, the cooke the priest, the fatty fume of thy meate the holy Ghost; thy sawces thy spirituall gifts, thy belching thy prophecie: thy loue boileth*

[a] *Tertul. de Ieiunio aduersus Psycichios.*
[b] *Ibid.*
[c] *Ibid. sub finem.*

in

in thy kettle, thy faith warmeth in thy kitchin, thy hope lieth in thy meaſe. Who is holieſt amongſt you but he that feaſteth moſt, and of delicate fare is prouided beſt, &c. An apple is not ſo like an apple, or an egge ſo like an egge, as M. Biſhop and his fellowes are to Tertullian and the Montaniſtes. As for our doctrine it importeth no prophane carnalitie. We teach men both in meates and in marriage to vſe temperancie and ſobrietie. We warne men [d] to *take heede that their hearts be not oppreſſed with ſurfeiting and drunkenneſſe, leſt the day of Chriſt come vpon them vnawares:* that [e] *in eating what their heart deſireth, they doe not ſo fill the belly as* [f] *to forget God:* that they [g] *ſo eate and drinke*, as that *they doe all to the glory of God.* We ſay as Tertullian elſewhere truely ſaieth: [h] *Sapientiam opimitas impedit, exilitas expedit: fatneſſe and fulneſſe is a hinderance to wiſedome, ſpareneſſe is a furtherance*; and as Hierome ſaith out of the greeke prouerb: [i] *Pinguis venter non gignit mentem tenuem, full feeding neuer breedeth quick vnder ſtanding*: but as Ambroſe ſaith, [k] *ſpare diet helpeth to lift vp the minde on high.* We teach maried men as the Apoſtle doth: [l] *Euery man to poſſeſſe his veſſell in holineſſe and honour, and not in the luſt of concupiſcence as doe the gentiles that know not God.* We ſay as Ambroſe ſaith that [m] *intemperancy in mariage is a kinde of adultery*, and with Origen and Hierome, *that* [n] *doating loue is diſhoneſt in a man euen towards his owne wife.* But yet we teach not as M. Biſhop would haue vs to teach. And why ſo? Becauſe as did the auncient church, ſo doe we [o] *reproue thoſe maſters who cruelly and without mercy without waighing mens ſtrength doe inioine them thinges greater then their ſtrength; as who forbid to marrie, and force them from that that is expedient ad immoderatam munditiam, to a cleanneſſe or holineſſe beyond meaſure or more then needeth. Who alſo teach men to abſtaine from meates and other ſuch things to which the faithfull ſhould not be forced; and thus by the worde of their expoſition doe binde heauy burdens without the will of Chriſt, and doe lay them vpon mens ſhoulders by their words,*

[d] *Luk.21.34.*
[e] *Deut.12.20.*
[f] *Cap.6.12.*
[g] *1.Cor.10.31.*
[h] *Tertul.de 8.10. Anima. cap.10.*
[i] *Hieron.epiſt. ad Nepotian.*
[k] *Ambroſ.pre-cat.ſecunda.*
[l] *1.Theſſ.4.4.*
[m] *Ambroſ. apud Auguſt.cont. Iulian.Pelag. lib.2.*
[n] *Origen. in Pſal. 38. Hieron. adu. Iouinian. lib.2.*
[o] *Origen.in Mat. tract. 24.*

words, bowing them downe, and making them to fall vnder the burden of their heauy iniunctions because they are not able to beare the same. This is the cause why M. Bishop is offended at vs because we condemne the proceedings of the church of Rome in prescribing rules of counterfeit holynesse which God hath not taught and laying heauier burdens vpon men thereby then they are able to beare, and which become vnto them an occasion of sinne. Wherein to contrary vs he saith that wee teach *that it is as good and godly by eating to feed the body as to chastize it by fasting.* Indeed we say that to eate and to fast in their due vse are to
[z] *Rom.* 14.6. God equall and alike, when [p] *he that eateth, eateth to the Lord, and he that eateth not, eateth not vnto the Lord*, neither doe we doubt but that the Apostles and holy seruants of God haue beene as good and godly in their eating as they haue beene in their fasting. For it is not eating
[q] 1. *Cor.* 8.8. or not eating that [q] *commendeth vs to God* for it selfe, but in their godly end and vse they are approoued, and as he offendeth that eateth when he should fast, so he offendeth
[r] *Col.* 2.23. also that fasteth when it is fitt to eate. There is [r] *a shew of wisedome in not sparing the body, and not hauing it in honour to satisfie the flesh*, as if the very emptinesse of the belly were a sacrifice to God. Which whilest some haue fondly admired they haue brought themselues to that weaknes that they haue not beene able to perfourme the duty of the places whereunto the Lod had called them to serue him. In this case moderate feeding of the body is better and more godly then affected fastinge, because being a seruant it must be kept in cafe to serue that a man by it may be in case to serue the Lord. Therefore S. Austen giueth a rule
[f] *Aug. ep.* 109. of fasting [f] *as health will permit and* [t] *as may be without the*
[t] *Epist.* 70. *hurting of the body.* Againe there is a time when fasting is
[u] *Mat.* 9.15. more godly then feeding, [u] *when the bridegroome is taken*
[x] *Esa.* 22.12. *from vs*; [x] *when the Lord of hostes calleth to mourning and weeping and putting on of sackcloth*, when insteed of fasting to fall to eating and drinking is a contempt of God and an iniquitie

iniquitie which he voweth not to forget. There is an occasion of fasting to supply others want of necessary feeding of which it is rightly said; [y] *Blessed is he that fasteth that he may feede the poore.* There is occasion of fasting to [z] *beate downe the body and bring it into subiection*, that it may be employed as a seruant and not serued as a master; and when this occasion requireth we say it is not so good or godly *by eating to feed the body as to chastise it by fasting*; and yet to this purpose we specially commend the saying of S. Hierome, [a] *spare feeding and a belly still kept with hungry appetite is preferred before fasting three daies together.* But in fasting three things there are which we condemne in the church of Rome accordingly as by the auncient church they were condemned. First that fasting is made in it selfe a worship of God, and a worke of righteousnesse, whereas it is of the number of those thinges which are not [b] *Iustitiæ ipsæ, sed condituræ iustitiarum*; *not matters of righteousnes in themselues, but seruing for the powdering and seasoning of the works of righteousnesse*, and therefore is to be applied [c] *to praier and meditation of gods word*, and to exercise of spirituall deuotion, without which it is but a matter of hypocrisie and mockerie, and hath no acceptation in the sight of God. Secondly, that it is so religiously tied to fixed and certaine daies, whereas the true fasting is but [d] *pro temporibus & causis, as times and occasions doe require*, as was before deliuered out of the ancient doctrine of the church of Rome. Thirdly, that it is thought to be performed by forbearing onely flesh, when other delicates and more costly prouisions are not forborne, which is such as Hierome iustly calleth [e] *a superstitious fast.* How in the meane time they chastise the body, the world seeth well enough, we are sure they are not of the number of them of whom S. Hierome saied for their fasting; [f] *They of our companie are heauy looked, pale faced, carelesly attired, like strangers in the world; and though they say nothing in words yet by behauiour they say, Alas that my pilgrimage is prolonged.* When matters were

[y] *Origen. in Leuit. hom. 10.*
[z] *1. Cor. 9. 27.*
[a] *Hieron. ep. ad Furiam.*
[b] *Origen. in Matth. tract. 25.*
[c] *Ambros. de Helia & ieiun. ca. 10.*
[d] *Tertul. de ieiunio.*
[e] *Hierony. ad Nepotian.*
[f] *Hieron. adu. Iouin. lib. 2.*

so hot betwixt the Iesuites and the Priestes, both sides could vse one part of Gregories wordes against the Patriarch of Constantinople, [g] *Our mindes swell with pride*, but neither part could vse the other: *Ossa ieiunys arent, our bones are drie with fasting.* They are such [h] *goodly masters*, as Hierome speaketh of, *which loue to talke of fasting, when they haue their bellies full.*

[g] *Greg. epist.*

[h] *Hier. epist. ad Nepotian.*

Another carnalitie of doctrine wherewith he vpbraideth vs, is that we teach, *That it is as holy to fulfill the fleshly desires of the body by mariage, as by continencie to mortifie them.* Where the vncleane beast like other swine of his fraternitie, maketh [i] *the vndefiled bed of mariage*, the fulfilling of fleshly desires, as if the precepts of [k] *mortifying the lustes of the flesh*, and [l] *abstaining from fleshly lustes*, could not stand with the vse of lawfull marriage, whereas the Apostle reckoneth for lusts of the flesh [m] *fornication, adultery, inordinate concupiscence*; but neuer dreamed that mariage should be accounted the *fulfilling of fleshly lust.* Yea Tertullian albeit he had begun to speak the language of Montanus, yet could say, [n] *that the very Gentiles did not account fleshly lust in mariage, but in disordered and vnnaturall courses.* And it appeareth by him what the auncient doctrine of the church of Rome was in this behalfe when by way of vpbraiding them he saith; [o] *Moderatio libidinum pudicitia creditur: With them moderation of lust*, by keeping it within the compasse of lawfull mariage, *is deemed chastitie*, when he being further besotted with the prophecie of Montanus thought, as Bishop doth, that mariage was to be reckoned a fulfilling of fleshly lust. But what the church of Rome then thought was after condescended vnto in the first Nicene Councell, that [p] *the companie of a man with his owne wife is chastitie*, because as Tertullian could say when he was yet sober, [q] *It is not the condition of the thing it selfe, but vnlawfull lust that defileth the companie of man and woman, and vnchastitie is not in the state but in the excesse and disorder thereof by adulterie, whooredome and com-*

[i] *Heb. 13. 4.*

[k] *Rom. 8. 13.*

[l] *1. Pet. 2. 11.*

[m] *Gal. 5. 19. Col. 3. 5.*

[n] *Tertul. adu. Marcio lib. 5.*

[o] *Lib. de Pudicitia.*

[p] *Socrat. hist. lib. 1. cap. 8.*

[q] *Tertul. de anima. cap. 13.*

mon

monstewes. Now therefore we doubt not but that in marriage is as great holinesse, as there is in single life, and neither of them for it selfe is more acceptable to God then the other is, neither doe we otherwise conceiue heereof then was receiued by the auncient church of Rome, as hath beene before shewed. We doubt not but that the patriarches, and priests, and prophets, and the first Christians, liued more holily in marriage then doe M. Bishop and his fellowes in single life. And we cannot be perswaded that there is a speciall kinde of holy life, that was neuer commended to the people of God for the space of aboue foure thousand yeeres, nor was euer heard of vnder the name of greater puritie & sanctitie, but onely amongst superstitious heathen men. There was a time when [r] Ieremie was willed for the time, *not to take a wife*, because of the great calamitie that was to befall the land of Iudah, euen as the Apostle S. Paul giueth counsell to forbeare mariage when without euill it may be forborne [r] *because of any present necessity* or for auoiding *trouble in the flesh*: but that the not taking of a wife should be a seruice to God or an acceptable holinesse with him, the church of those times neuer learned, which we suppose knew all workes of holinesse towards God. In a word single life though it selfe be not a matter of holinesse, yet where the gift of continency is, giueth greater opportunity of holy employment, in that it voideth a man of troubles and cares that are incident to mariage, and so according to the manner of things indifferent is respectiuely to be preferred. But where the gift of continency is not, because the restles passions of incontinency by soliciting and distracting the mind doe bereaue it of that tranquillitie and peace which in any condition or state of life is necessary to serue God, there mariage is more helpfull to the seeking and seruice of the kingdome of God: and the vndertaking of the cares and troubles thereof only for keeping peace of conscience towards God is as sweet a sacrifice to God as anie

[r] *Ier.16.2.*

[r] *1.Cor.7.26. 28.*

doth arise of single life. And therefore the auncient church albeit there had passed a vow of single life yet thought it fit for them [c] *to marry that could not* [u] *or would not conteine, as* [x] *being better to receiue iudgement and censures of their lightnesse with men, then with secret darts of Satan to be wounded euery day towards God*; so farre were they from that filthy Popish paradoxe which before is mentioned, that it should be better in that case to keepe a harlot then to marry a lawfull wife. [y] *Incontinency*, saith S. Austen, *must be supported with honest mariage that it runne not headlong to damnable sinne.* Now because the gift of conteining is not in the power of man, therefore as touching M. Bishops third point we say indeed that it is contrarie to the word of God to *vow virginity*, because it is contrary to the word of God to [z] *suffer thy mouth to cause thy flesh to sinne*, and [a] *rashly to vtter a thing to God* which thy power serueth not to performe. [b] *All men cannot receiue this thing*, saith our Sauiour, *but they to whom it is giuen*, and is it not sinne to vow to God when a man hath no warrant of the gift of God? [c] *For they to whom it is not giuen, either haue no will* to that they vow, *or faile of fulfilling what they are willing to.* [d] *If all could be virgins*, saith Hierom, *our Lord would not haue said, He that can receiue it, let him receiue it, neither woulde the Apostle haue beene so fearefull to perswade it.* Therefore *it is found in many to begin it, but it is found in few to perseuere*, and what is it but wickednesse to make all vow when so few are found to perseuere? But the best is, they vow against mariage onely, but against fornication and adultery they make no vow. They vow continencie no further but [e] *as humane infirmitie will permit*, and therefore it fareth with them as it hath beene woont with other heretickes: [f] *They reiect marriage, but yet they cease not from filthie lust.* Therefore without breaking of his vow, Pope Sergius the third might keepe [g] *Marozia* Earle Guido his wife, and get of her in *æternam rei memoriam*, another Pope Iohn the twelfth, who should neuer haue beene

Pope

[c] *Hieron. ep. ad Demetriad.*
[u] *Cyp. l. 1. ep. 11.*
[x] *Epiph. hæres. 61. Apostolic.*
[y] *August. cont. Iulian. l. 5. c. 10.*
[z] *Eccles. 5. 5.*
[a] *V. 1.*
[b] *Mat. 19. 11.*
[c] *August. de gratia & lib. arb. cap. 4.*
[d] *Hieron. adu. Iouinian. lib. 1.*
[e] *Hospinian. de orig. Monacha. lib. 6. cap. 73.*
[f] *Epiph. hær. 61. Origen.*
[g] *Bale in Serg. 3 ex Luithprand.*

Pope if he had beene a priests sonne, but to be a Popes bastard it was no let. And thus might Iohn the eleuenth mortifie the flesh, with [h] keeping his minion Theodora; & Iohn the thirteenth with his [i] two damsels Rainera and Anna; & Hildebrand [k] with Machtyldis the Countesse, who forsooth was called *S. Peters daughter*; & Alexander the sixt [l] *exceedingly addicted to women*, might serue his saint Vannocia, and might bestow a Cardinalship to continue the loue of [m] Iulia Farnesia, and might make bolde with his owne daughter Lucretia. So Paul the third saning his vow might receiue a stab for being taken in adulterie with his kinswoman [n] Laura Farnesia, & might poison his daughters husband Bosius Sfortia, that hee might the more freely haue the vse of her, as he had also of Iulia his owne sister: such paines doe these holie fathers take to mortifie their fleshly desires, that it is woonder that we should not thinke that the mariage of Protestant Ministers is not for holinesse to be compared to their single life. It was without breach of vow, I warrant you, that the [o] Cardinall of Cremona the Popes Legare *a latere*, comming heere into England to take order against priests wiues and concubines, and in a solemne assembly inueighing against them, and shewing what a hainous offence it was, to rise from beside a harlot to consecrate the body of Christ, was the same night after taken with a harlot in his owne bed. *The matter was well knowne*, saith Mathew Paris. *and could not be denied:* Should we not thinke it was for holinesse and mortification of fleshly lustes, that the [p] *Bishops of Germany were woont for money to giue priests leaue to keepe concubines*, when they might by no meanes marrie wiues? Was there not in their Clergie exceeding great holinesse, by vowing virginitie, when that prouiso tooke place in their lawes: [q] *They say commonly that a priest is* not *to be deposed for simple fornication, because there are few found without that fault:* yea and a reason giuen of that fauour, [r] *Because the bodies of men are more fraile now then*

[h] *Idem in Ioanne.* 11.
[i] *Synod. Rom. apud Luithpr. lib.* 6.
[k] *Bale in Gregor.* 7.
[l] *Onuphr. in Alexand.* 6. *apud Platin.*
[m] *Sleiden. Comment. lib.* 21.
[n] *Idem ibid.*
[o] *Math. Paris. in Henr.* 1.
[p] *Sleid. Comm. lib.* 4. *ex orat. Campegij Cardinalis.*
[q] *Dist.* 81. *Maximianus in glossa.*
[r] *Dist.* 82. *Prester in glossa.*

then of old they haue beene, frailtie was a cause with them to beare with fornication, which is the worke of the diuell, but by no meanes to permit marriage, which is the ordinance of God. But what their holinesse was S. Bernard was a witnesse in his time, giuing to vnderstand, that [f] *after fornications, adulteries, incests*, they fell to vnnaturall and monstrous lusts, for which God destroied Sodome and Gomorrah, *forbearing the remedy of lawfull mariage, and thencefoorth running headlong into all hainous filthinesse*. And of the persons that were guilty hereof he saith: *They cannot be hid they are so many, nor care to be hid they are so impudent*. I may here vse Tertullians *epiphonema*: [t] *Hæc admittit flagitia coacta & inuita virginitas: such horrible wickednesse is there in constreined and forced virginity*. This is the holinesse, M. Bishop, that you recommend to his most excellent Maiestie to be practised by his Clergie. These are the workes of your mortification, the fruites of your vowed virginitie, as if you had said with them of old, [u] *Peccata carnis deus non curat*; *God careth not for these pecadilloes of the flesh*: and with Plato, [x] *In such kinde of pleasures it is but a veniall sinne for a man to forsweare himselfe*. Fie vpon you, fie vpon you, filthie harlots, the seede of the diuell, abhominable hypocrits: you are they that tell vs that there is that [a] *impuritie and pollution* in the vse of mariage, in [z] the *vndefiled bed*, as the holie ghost termeth it, which cannot stand with the sanctity and holynes of your priestly executions; when in the meane time the impurities and pollutions of your filthy whooredome and Sodomy are extremely lothsome both to God and men; which so prouoked God in the time of the height of Antichrist as that for iust reuenge thereof he sent into the world that horrible disease of the *French pocks*; which, as [*] Physicians confesse, former ages had neuer had any experience of. What shall I say? for shame talke no more of continency and virginitie: it is a matter for honest men to speake of honestly, as for you the world stinketh of you already,

[f] *Bernard. de Conuers. ad Cler. cap. 29.*

[t] *Tert. de Veland. Virginib.*

[u] *August. de verb. Dom. ser. 16.*

[x] *Plato apud Cyrill. cont. Iulian. lib. 6.*

[a] *Bell. de Cleric. cap. 19.*

[z] *Heb. 13. 4.*

[*] *Fuchs. institut. medicinæ.*

already, and the more ye stirre the worse it will stinke still. Another point for which M. Bishop questioneth our doctrine is for that we teach, as he saith, that it is contrary to *the will of God to bestow our goods on the poore and to giue our selues wholly to praier and fasting.* But the thing that we teach is this, that when the keeping of our goods standeth not with the calling of God, and the performance of the seruice whereunto he appointeth vs, then euerie faithfull Christian is to shew himselfe ready to forgoe all, father, mother, wife, children, brethren, sisters, lands, liuings, and whatsoeuer else, knowing that otherwise [y] *he cannot be the disciple of Christ.* If Christ say to vs as he did to the yongue man in the Gospel, [z] *Goe, sell all that thou hast and giue to the poore, and come and follow me*, then not to doe it is a token of an vnfaithfull heart, that setteth more by the world then by God; more by the transitorie goods of this life, then by the euerlasting riches of Iesus Christ. Thus [a] Abraham, God so commaunding, forsooke the countrey and inheritance of his fathers, to goe to the place that the Lord should shew him. Thus [b] Barnabas sold all to follow Iesus Christ, in yeelding his helpe to the Apostles for the preaching of the Gospell through the world. Thus the first Christians endured [c] *with ioy the spoiling of their goods*, rather then to forsake the testimony of Iesus Christ. Which cases not befalling vs, wee yet perfourme that commaundement of Christ in minde and affection, when in abundance happily of riches and possessions we haue our hearts so weaned from the loue thereof, as that we account [d] *all thinges but losse for the excellent knowledge sake of Christ Iesus our Lord*, [e] *not setting our hearts vpon them*, [f] *possessing them as if we possessed them not, vsing them as if wee vsed them not*; that though occasion of leauing all be wanting to our will, yet our will be not found wanting if there were occasion. But without this occasion from God voluntarily and of our owne heads to sell all and giue to the poore vnder pretence

[y] *Luc.14.26.*
[z] *Mat.19.21.*
[a] *Gen.12.1.4. Heb.11.8.*
[b] *Act.4.36.*
[c] *Heb.10.34.*
[d] *Phil.3 8.*
[e] *Psal.62.10.*
[f] *1.Cor.7.30.*
[31.]

tence of giuing our selues to praier and fasting is a worke of superstition and errour, a renouncing of the stewardship which God hath committed vnto vs; a casting off of the yoke of Christ in whom we are new borne not to liue to our selues but to be [g] members one of another, and [h] *by loue to serue one another*: it is the very heresie of the [i] *Massaliãs* or *Euchytes*, who because the scripture teacheth vs [k] *to pray continually and not to waxe weary*, did therefore renounce the world, forsooth, and *departed from their goods* that they might attend wholly to praier, and did [l] *pray so much* indeed as saith S. Austen, *as did seeme incredible to them that did heare of it*. And if the dueties of praier and fasting which the scripture requireth be not tied to any separate kind of life, but concerne men generally, as indeed they doe in the places and callings wherein God hath placed them, surely then vnder pretence and colour of giuing our selues to praier and fasting to leaue our places and callings and to goe into corners from other men, is an absurd fancie of *will-worship* and hath no ground of Gods word to warrant our consciences for the doing of it. Abraham did not so when God had enriched him after his departure from his countrey, who notwithstanding is called [m] *the father of the faithfull, in the steppes of whose faith we are to walke* that [n] *into his bosome* we may be gathered. Cornelius did not so, who without leauing his charge [o] vsed praier and fasting in such sort as that he found the fauour at Gods hands to haue an angel sent with a message to him for meanes of his further instruction in the way of life. Neither in the old nor in the new testament is there one man found that hath don it, howsoeuer M. Bishop account it a matter of great holinesse and perfection; and as for vs we will not take vpon vs to be wiser in this behalfe then they whom God himselfe hath recommended vnto vs for true examples of holinesse and perfection. But now I suppose there is a secret in this matter which euery man doth not see. If M. Bishop were demaunded who be the

poore

[g] *Rom.* 12.5.
[h] *Gal.* 5.13.
[i] *Epiph. hær.* 80. *Massaliani.*
[k] *Luc.* 18.1. 1. *Thess.* 5.17.
[l] *August. ad Quodvult. hær.* 57.
[m] *Rom.* 4.11.12.
[n] *Luc.* 16.22.
[o] *Act.* 10.30.

poore whom he heere meaneth, I doubt he would famble and stagger in his answer. The diuell was in it that Watson in his *Quodlibets* in great malice of the Iesuites hath discouered the knauerie of this whole matter, and so discouered it as might be a good warning to many seelie fooles to take heed how they commit themselues into the handes of these vultures and gryphes, who vnder pretence of sauing mens soules, deuour their bodily goods, and send them headlong to destruction, both of bodie and soule. Is is not a pretie Iesuiticall exercise which hee hath made knowen to the world, that men are by them drawen to sell their landes, and to put the mony into the handes of these poore fathers, that so being freed from the cares and troubles of their worldly state, they may goe lightly beyond sea, there to attend to praier, because they must begge, and to fasting because they haue naught to eate? yea and to bee dispatched, God knoweth how, that they may haue no toong to complaine, that anie man hath done them harme? In the meane time these holie fathers make merry with that they haue gotten: this is *Propter bonum societatis*, though it be in *ordine ad diabolum*. Thus M. Bishop you all praie vpon other mens praiers and feast vpon other mens fasting, and whilest you liue no otherwise indeed but like theeues and naughtie packes deuouring other men to mainteine your selues like gallants, you exclaime against prophane carnalitie as in vs, that such tame fooles as will trust you being possessed with opinion thereof against vs, may take no notice of that lewde prophaneness and carnalitie that is vniuersally currant amongst you. We wote well howe vnder pretence of pouertie you haue gotten into your handes the wealth of the world to mainteine idle lozels and filthy belly-gods, who know nothing but carnalitie: how the Iesuites vowing pouertie in proprietie haue in communitie gotten that riches into their handes within these threescore yeeres, that they are able thereby to doe

more then many Princes can doe. Is this the holinesse of Poperie? Are these the fruites of your vowes? We will content our selues with that holinesse which we haue learned by the word of God, but as for your holinesse wee leaue it to your selues being knowen well enough by the fruites of it to be the inuention of the diuell.

19. W. Bishop.

I need not ioyne heereunto, that they teach it to be impossible to keepe Gods Commaundements; and therefore in vaine to goe about it: And farther, that the best worke of the righteous man, is defiled with sinne. Wherefore, as good for him to leaue all vndone, as to doe any.

Nay, if this position of others were true, it would follow necessarily, that all men were bound vnder paine of damnation, neuer to doe any good deed, so long as they liue: for that their good deed being stained with sinne, cannot but deserue the hyre
Rom.6. *of sinne, which according to the* Apostle *is:* Death euerlasting. *If your Maiesties important affaires, would once permit you to consider maturely of these impieties, and many other like absurdities, wherewith the Protestants Doctrine is stuffed: I dare be bold to say that you would speedily either commaund them, to reforme themselues, and amend their errors; or fairely giue them their* Congie.

R. Abbot.

Here M. Bishop performeth a worke of *supererogation* doing that that he saith *he needs not doe.* And indeed he saith truely that it is more then needeth, and were he not a man of a stupide & senseles conscience he would not haue made any mention of this point: so fully must his owne heart necessarily be possessed with the acknowledgement of the truth of that we say, but that for the loue wherewith he is bewitched to doat vpon Antichrist he laboureth wilfully

fully to quench the light thereof. We doe not teach that it is impossible to keepe Gods commaundements, but we teach that it is impossible to keepe Gods commandements perfectly to full righteousnesse and iustification in the sight of God: we teach that it is impossible for vs so long as mortality and corruption lasteth to attaine to that description of vnspotted holinesse and righteousnes that is conteined in the law. We faithfully teach men to keepe the commaundements of God. We teach with S. Iohn; [a] *He that saith I know him, and keepeth not his commaundements is a liar and the truth is not in him.* We neuer cease to propound the words of Christ tying the truth of our loue to the keeping of his commaundements, [b] *If ye loue me keepe my commaundements: He that hath my commaundements and keepeth them the same is he that loueth me.* But to [c] *the keeping of the commandements it appertaineth to say, forgiue vs our trespasses*, that is, our breaking of thy commaundements. It is in effect to say: [d] *stand not in iudgement with vs to require of vs all that thou hast willed and commaunded: for thou shalt finde vs guilty if thou enter into iudgment with vs: we haue therefore neede of thy mercy.* Now it is not possible for vs so to liue but that we must so long as we liue here make this confession and praier vnto God. Therefore it is not possible for vs so long as we liue here perfectly to keepe the commaundements of God. So long as we cannot [e] *loue the Lord our God with all our hart, with all our soule, with all our minde, with all our strength*, so long we cannot keepe all the commaundements of God. But [f] *so long as there is any carnall concupiscence or lust to be bridled and restrained we cannot loue the Lord our God with all our soule: for the flesh lusteth not without the soule albeit it be fated that the flesh lusteth because the soule lusteth fleshly or carnally*: therefore so long as concupiscence lasteth we cannot keepe all the commaundements. But so long as we liue here it is still true in vs, [g] *the flesh lusteth against the spirit*: so long therefore as we liue here we cannot keepe

[a] *1. Iohn 2.4.*

[b] *Ioh. 14.15.21*

[c] *August.*

[d] *De Tempor. ser. 49.*

[e] *Mat. 22.37.*

[f] *August. de perf. iustit. Ratior. 17.*

[g] *Gal. 5.17.*

all the commaundements of God, and so much the lesse because one of Gods commaundements also is, [h] *Thou shalt not lust.* [i] *There are many scandalls of the world*, saith Hilary, *which doe hinder in vs the perfect keeping of the commaundements: to say nothing of the nature of our bodies which partly by infirmity, partly by the motions or prouocations of vicious affections doe force vs yet to be vnperfect.* Now I will say to M. Bishop in this matter as Hierome saied of old to the Pelagian hereticke defending the same that M. Bishop doth: [k] *Thou tellest vs that the commaundements of God are easie (possible* saith M. Bishop*) to be kept, and yet thou canst bring foorth no man that hath kept them all. What a reason is this to say that it is possible which neuer was, and may be done which thou art witnesse neuer any man did, and to make it a thing for euery man to doe which in the patriarchs and prophets and Apostles thou art not able to approoue?* He runneth ouer many scriptures [l] *to shew*, as he saith, *that no man hath fulfilled the law and by the law all the commaundements that are conteined therein.* In a word he determineth thus out of the experience of men excelling one in one vertue and another in another, [m] *God hath commaunded thinges possible, I confesse: but euch man cannot atteine to all these things albeit they be possible, not by any vnableneesse of created nature, that any cauil should thereby be made to God; but by weakenes of our owne mind and will which cannot together and at once receiue all vertues.* Thus Hierome dispatcheth vs of this question, teaching, as we do, that God hath commaunded nothing but what is possible, but the impossibility of keeping the commaundements ariseth from vs, from our weakenesse and frailtie, who although we may excell in some one or two or some few vertues morally, yet euen in morall conuersation to men cannot atteine to all vertues, and therefore much lesse to answere the strict examination of the iudgement of God. So that we affirme nothing in this behalfe but what the ancient church defended against the Pelagian hereticke, and that which M. Bishop seeketh to perswade

[h] *Rom.* 7. 7.
[i] *Hilar. in Psal* 118. *lit. Gimel.*
[k] *Hieron. epist. ad Ctesiphont.*
[l] *Adu. Pelag. lib.* 2.
[m] *Adu. Pelag. lib.* 1.

perswade his most excellent maiesty is nothing but what the Pelagian heretickes of old presumed against the church: much grace to him to be found thus directlie walking in their steppes. Let S. Bernards words serue for the ending of this point; [a] *The law-maker was not ignorant that the waight of the commaundement did exceed the strength of man, but he iudged it profitable that thereby men should be aduertised of their owne insufficiency, and indeed might know to what end of righteousnesse they might striue to the vttermost of their strength. Therefore by commaunding things impossible (to vs) he ment not to make vs trespassers, but to humble vs that euery mouth may be stopped and all the world may be brought in subiection to God: for receiuing the commaundement and feeling our owne defect we shall cry to heauen and God wilbe mercifull to vs, and we shall know at that day that not for the workes of righteousnesse which we haue done but of his owne mercy he hath saued vs.* Where he doth not only affirme the impossibility of full and perfect keeping of the law, but giueth reasons also why God notwithstanding held it profitable for vs that he should giue the law, and in euery point speaketh fully and expresly the same that we doe. Now if to this doctrine we apply M. Bishops conclusion, we shal finde him to be that that indeed he is. We cannot in this life perfectly fulfill the commaundements of God; therfore, saith he, it is in vaine to goe about it. As if he should say: A man is not yet come to the goale; therefore it is in vaine for him to runne; the scholer cannot alreade write in print; therefore it is in vaine for him to learne to write: the husbandman hath not his harueſt already in hand; therefore it is in vaine for him to sow his seede. Perfect righteousnesse entertaineth none but whom it meeteth trauelling to come vnto it. We here sow the seedes of it that we haue the full growth of it otherwhere. The foundation is laid on earth that the consummation may be in heauen. Rightly doth S. Hierome say: [b] *Non sunt contemnenda tanquam parua sine quibus magna esse non possunt*: we are

[a] *Bernard. in Cant. ser. 50.*

[b] *Hieron. epist. ad Letam.*

are not to despise those things as smal without which great things cannot be. Though we seeme heere to haue learned but as it were the A B C, yet is it not in vaine, because this A B C is the introduction to the whole Booke of God.

[o] *Origen. in Exod. hom. 5.*

[o] *Better it is for a man seeking perfection to die by the waie,* saith Origen, *then not to goe foorth to seeke it at all.* Againe, M. Bishop challengeth vs for teaching *that the best worke of the righteous man is defiled with sinne.* Wherein we teach the same that Hilarie of old taught, and was by Austin approoued according to the auncient doctrine of the church of Rome against the Pelagian heretickes, *that* [p] *our bodies are the matter of all vices, by reason whereof being polluted and defiled we haue nothing in vs cleane, nothing innocent.* Whereto belongeth the acknowledgement of Gregorie bishop of Rome, mentioned before, that [q] *all our righteousnesse is found to be vnrighteousnesse if it be strictly and narrowly sifted.* And surely seeing the case so standeth with vs, that by meanes of carnall concupiscence still possessing vs no good that we doe can haue all our heart and all our soule to accompanie it vnto God, it must needes be that in the best worke there is a maime, and in the greatest righteousnesse a want of somewhat that it ought to haue if God in rigour do examine the same. And therefore as in the law of Moses the [r] *high Priest did beare the iniquitie of the holie offerings of the children of Israel to make them acceptable before the Lord,* so we must vnderstand that euen our holiest offerings and works of righteousnesse haue such defects and wants, such blemishes and stains of our corruption, as that they need the mediation of our high Priest Iesus Christ, to acquit the iniquity thereof, and to procure them fauour and acceptation in the sight of God. Now heereof M. Bishop inferreth *then as good to leaue all vndone as to doe any.* As if he should saie, If a man cannot but goe lame, then it is as good for him not to goe at all: if a man cannot praie, but to be interrupted with by-thoughts, then it is as good for him not to

[p] *Hilar. apud August. cont. Iulian. Pelag. lib. 2.*

[q] *Gregor. Moral. lib. 21. c. 15.*

[r] *Exod. 28. 38.*

pray

pray at all: if a man cannot but stutte in speaking, then it is as good for him not to speake at all. Witlesse Sophister, is it all one wilfully to rebell and vnperfectly to obey? is it all one to a necessarie defect, to adde a proud and voluntarie contempt? we haue to doe with a mercifull God who in Iesus Christ accepteth our affections for actions, our beginnings for perfections, and [f] *if there be first a willing minde, respecteth vs according to that that we haue, not according to that that wee haue not*, euen as a louing father who ioyeth in his childe when hee seeth him willing to learne, though hee fault in the dooing of the thing that he commaundeth, and shall we say, *it is as good to leaue all good workes vndone as to doe any*, because we cannot but admit some default in the doing of them? Whereby appeareth the grosse ignorance of this blinde Doctour, who in his next wordes inferreth, that *if this position of ours bee true, it would follow necessarily that all men were bound vnder paine of damnation neuer to doe any good deede so long as they liue*. And why I praie you? *For that their good deede being stained with sinne cannot but deserue the hire of sinne, which according to the Apostle is death euerlasting*. This reason M. Bishop hath borowed from M. Wright, Iannes from his fellow Iambres, who amongst other of his articles or forcible reasons against vs propounded this, *That the Protestants are bound in conscience to auoide all good workes, and that according to the Protestants religion all men are bound vpon paine of eternall damnation to auoide all good workes*. We see malice is blinde and euery drunken fancy seemeth to it a forcible reason to oppugne and ouerthrow the truth. But how I maruell should this come to passe? Forsooth *euery man is bound vpon paine of eternall damnation to auoide all mortall sinnes: but all good workes according to the Protestants religion are mortall sinnes, therefore. &c.* But I maruell what M. Bishop taketh him to be who for an ire-mole or a blacke spot affirmeth a white sheete to be a blacke haire cloth? Is the good worke

[f] 2. Cor. 8. 12.

worke it selfe become a mortall sinne, because by an accidentall blemish it receiueth some disgrace? If he can put difference betwixt the subiect and the accident, then he may vnderstand that an accidentall default in the doing of a commaunded good worke taketh not away the obligation to the deede, and to refuse the doing of the good worke for auoiding of the default is for the auoiding of a trespasse to commit a treason, and from a pardonable errour of humane imperfection to runne into a heauie iudgment of wilfull opposition. S. Austin saith: [t] *Infideliter misereri vitium est, peccatum est: to vse compassion without faith is sinne.* The sinne ariseth not from the act of compassion but from the priuation of faith. And will M. Bishop hereof inferre that an infidell is bound vnder paine of eternall damnation not to vse compassion, and by a defect in circumstance force an obligation negatiue against the fact? To vse compassion without faith is sinne, but not to shew compassion is a far greater sinne. To shew mercy in infidelity yeeldeth [u] *thoughtes excusing* for doing a part; not to shew mercy breedeth *accusing thoughts* for neglecting all, and for crossing *the worke of the law written in their hearts* for the direction of their outward actions. Now therfore in the good works of the faithfull there is a staine of sinne, but in the not doing of them at all should be a double sinne: there is a guilt of damnation if God in rigour sift and examine the same, not arising from the good worke but from the staine of sinne; but to leaue the worke altogether vndone is a treble condemnation. But God in Iesus Christ remitteth the guilt, and imputeth not the staine of sinne but graciously accepteth the worke as perfect and good and accordingly rewardeth it. And therefore from an inuincible default which God hath promised to forgiue to argue the omitting of the worke which God hath commaunded to do, is a collection so sottish and absurd as that it cannot be but that either meere ignorance or extreme malice must needes be the authour and deuiser thereof.

[t] *August. cont. Iulian Pelag. lib. 4. cap. 3.*

[u] *Rom. 2. 15.*

thereof. And yet this wise man as if he had spoken some worthy matter telleth his most excellent Maiestie that *if his Maiesties important affaires would permit him to consider maturely of these impieties and many other like absurdities wherewith the protestant doctrine is stuffed, he would speedely commaund vs to reforme our selues and amend our errours.* But his Maiesty in the middest of his important affaires well aduiseth of these matters, knowing that the preseruation of true religion is a matter of greatest importance, because as the Christian emperours of old haue said, * *The state of the common wealth dependeth vpon maintenance of true piety towards God.* His Maiestie knoweth well inough that it is small aduantage to inioy a kingdome vpon earth, and for want of true faith towards God to be excluded from the kingdome of heauen. He hath therefore taken resolution thereof from God himselfe, and on your part, M. Bishop, findeth nothing to moone him from that whereof he is resolued. You deuise impieties where there are none: of the auncient doctrines of the church you make absurdities because they fit not the humour and proceedings of your latter Synagogue. Your allegations are idle, your answeres are empty, your arguments wholly inconsequent, and fit it were that after your thrise seuen yeeres you should be recalled for seuen yeeres more to the study not of diuinitie only but of Logicke also that you may not anie more interrupt his Maiesties important affaires with such loose and friuolous collections as here you haue presented to his view. Whereof we shall yet see further experience in that that followeth for the closing vp of this your second reason.

* Theodos. & Valentin. apud Cyril. tom. 4. epist. 17.

20. W. BISHOP.

I will close vp this my second reason, with this Epiphoneme. That it is impossible for a Protestant, firmely cleauing to the grounds of his owne Religion, to hope

for any saluation. *For they doe, and needes must graunt, that no man can be saued without a liuely faith; and also that a liuely faith cannot be without charitie, for otherwise it were dead: Now then to the purpose; No Protestant can haue charitie: for* 1. *Epist. ca. 5. as witnesseth S.* Iohn. This is the charitie of God, that *Rom. 13.* we keepe his commaundements. *But it is impossible (according to the Protestants) to keepe the commaundements: therefore also impossible to haue charitie*; which is the fulnesse of the law: *and consequently impossible to haue a liuely faith, which cannot be without charitie. And so finally through want of that liuely feeling faith, whereby they should lay hold on Christs righteousnesse, to hale and apply that vnto themselues, they can haue no hope at all, of any fauour, and grace at Gods hands: Without which they must needes assure themselues of eternall damnation, in steede of their pretended certaintie of saluation.*

R. Abbot.

The Apostle saide of some, and M. Bishop is one of 2 *Tim. 1. 7.* them, 2 *They would be doctours of the law, and yet vnderstand not what they speake, neither whereof they affirme. It is impossible forsooth for a Protestant firmely cleauing to the grounds of of his owne religion to hope for any saluation.* And why so I pray you? *for no man can be saued without a liuely faith, and a liuely faith cannot be without charitie, and no Protestant can haue charitie.* No can? but what is the let thereof? Forsooth S. Iohn saith, *that the charitie of God is this, that wee keepe his Commaundements, and it is impossible according to the Protestants to keepe the commaundements: therefore it is impossible to haue charitie.* Now a night-cap of strawe for such a braine that could reason so profoundly against the Protestants. But did your head neuer serue you to vnderstand that there are diuers degrees of charitie, and consequently diuers degrees of keeping Gods commaundements? and therefore that the denying of the highest degree thereof taketh not away the affirming of the rest?

Did

Did you not finde in Austin that there is [b] *charitas maior*, and *charitas minor*, *greater charitie and lesser charitie* incident to this life, and *plenissima charitas*, *full and perfect charitie*, not to *be found in any man so long as he liueth heere*, but differred till [c] *then when we shall see God as he is*? The same Austin speaking of inherent righteousnesse which consisteth in the keeping of Gods commaundements describeth these degrees both in the one and in the other: [d] *Charity begun is righteousnes begun: charitie encreased is righteousnes encreased: great charitie is great righteousnesse: perfect charitie is perfect righteousnesse*. Now perfect charitie, as before, hath not his place in this life, and therefore in this life is no perfect righteousnesse, and therefore no perfect keeping of the commaundements of God, which onely is it which the Protestants denie: but charitie there is in this life, and righteousnesse there is, and a keeping of Gods commaundement there is, begun, encreased, waxing great, in diuers persons diuerslly: and therefore by the Protestants doctrine there is no let but that a man may haue a liuely faith, and thereby assured hope of euerlasting life. For heereby indeed he taketh hold on the righteousnesse of Christ, not to hale it to himselfe according to the phrase of this Lucian dogge, but to receiue it being offred and giuen by the promise of God; whereto because eternall life is due, therefore in receiuing it, he receiueth eternall life, according to the wordes of Christ, [e] *Whosoeuer eateth my flesh and drinketh my bloud hath eternall life, and I will raise him vp at the last day*, not meaning that we should eate his flesh with our mouthes, or drinke his bloud into our bellies, but [f] *instructing vs to become communicants of his passion, & healthfully and profitably to lay vp in our minds that his flesh was crucified and wounded for vs*, to the end that all righteousnesse being perfourmed in his obedience for vs, the same might be reputed vnto vs for the atteinment of eternall life. And thus we are come to the end of M. Bishops second reason, wherein as in the first we see nothing

[b] *Aug. ep. 29.*

[c] *De perfect. iustit. Hom. 8.*

[d] *De nat. & grat. cap. 70.*

[e] *Ioh. 6. 54.*

[f] *August. de doct. Christ. lib. 3. cap. 16.*

thing but vnlearned presumption and folly, and a great countenance set vpon a matter of naught; much audaciousnesse of words, but in waight and substance altogether nothing. Let vs now come to the examining of his third reason, where we shall finde him no changeling, but still one and the same man, or rather a shadow for a man.

21. W. Bishop.

To these two arguments, gathered out of the treatise following, I adde a third, collected from these your owne memorable wordes related in the abouenamed conference: viz. Are we now come to that passe, that we must appeach *Constantine* of Poperie and superstition? *Which argueth that your Maiestie iudgeth them, to haue little regard of either pietie or ciuilitie, that would admit such a thought into their minde, as that the first Christian Emperour (our most renowmed countriman) should be nousled and brought vp in superstition, wherin your Maiestie hath great reason, for he was most carefully instructed, and taught the Christian Religion, by such holie Confessors, whose sincerities in faith had beene tried in the hot furnace of many strange persecutions: And he farther had the good happe to see, and heare together in the first generall Councell of Nice, many of the holiest and best learned Bishops of Christendome. Therefore it is most vnlikely that so royall a person, deuoted to Religion, and hauing so good meanes to attaine to the perfect knowledge thereof, as no man could haue better; should neuertheless in the purest time of it, be misledde into errour, and superstition. If then, it may be prooued, that this most Christian Emperour (the glittering ornament of our noble Iland) did beleeue such articles of the present Roman church, as the Protestants teach not to be beleeued: Will not your Maiestie rather ioine in faith with so peereless a Prince, who by the consent of all antiquitie, was for certaine right well enformed, then with these, whom (doubtlesse) most men deeme to be pittifully deceiued? Now that* Constantine *was of the same opinion, in*

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matter

matter of Religion, with the present Church of Rome, may evidently be gathered out of this that followeth.

R. ABBOT.

We cannot, M. Bishop, but giue most humble thanks to almightie God for giuing vnto vs a king of so great vnderstanding and iudgement, for deciding and determining the causes and controuersies of the church. Whose princely wisedome in that behalfe as it appeared in that conference many waies, so in this not least of all that his Maiestie thought fit that antiquitie should honourably be regarded, and that Popish nouelties onely being reiected, things should be reduced to their primitiue vse without any needlesse departure from that path which the first church hath troden out vnto vs. Wherein there was great cause that his Maiestie should haue a speciall respect vnto the time of Constantine the Emperour, as wherein hee could not doubt but that the aire of the church was verie free from that extreme infection and filth wherwith it was poisoned afterward. No maruell therefore if his Maiestie acquitted that noble Emperour from Poperie and superstition, and iust cause was there so to doe; so farre are we from dissenting from that principle which M. Bishop laieth downe, that it should be vnlikely that he should at that time be nousled vp in errour and misbelcefe. Which principle notwithstanding he driueth to an issue wholy contrary to his Maiesties intention and speech. For whereas his Maiesties purpose was to cleere Constantine of Poperie, M. Bishop goeth about to appeach him thereof. But Constantine indeed was no Papist; he neuer set the triple crown vpon the Popes head, nor euer kissed the Popes foote. He did not thinke the Bishop of Rome to be superiour to himselfe, or that the Bishop of Rome might vpon occasion depose him from his regall throne, nor discharge his sworn subiects from their allegeance and

duety to him, nor held his sentence to be the oracle of the church; which had he thought he would not haue called the councell of Nice, but with lesse adoe would haue sent to Rome for resolution against Arius the hereticke. He did not thinke that it belonged to the bishop of Rome to call generall councells or to direct order for their proceeding, but commaundeth the councell himselfe, and prescribeth them a rule to follow, not according to the manner of the Popes councels which proceede [a] *by scriptures and traditions*, indeede by traditions only against scripture, but [b] *they are the bookes of the Euangelists, and of the Apostles*, saith he, *and the oracles of the old prophets which doe plainly instruct vs what to conceiue concerning Gods matters: therefore setting aside all emnitie and discord let vs from the wordes inspired of God take the explication of those things that are in question.* He neuer sought to the Pope for pardon, he was neuer shriuen to any priest, he neuer worshipped idoll nor image, neuer serued S. nor shrine, neuer knew the Masse nor transubstantiation, nor halfe communion: if he saw the religion that is now at Rome he would woonder at the change. Yet M. Bishop will needes perswade his most excellent maiesty that Constantine *was of the same opinion in matter of Religion with the present church of Rome*, but his arguments to prooue it are such as may well make vs to pitie the simplicity of the man. He must bring better proofes then he hath brought, or else Constantine shal be still ours and none of his.

[a] *Concil. Trid. sess. 4. cap. 1.*
[b] *Theod. hist. lib. 1. cap. 7.*

22. W. Bishop.

First, he was so affectionate vnto the signe of the Crosse, that he would haue it gloriously appeare, both abroad in his banners, and at home in his Pallace: and in the middest of the Citie of Rome, with this Poesie: In this signe of saluation, I haue deliuered the Citie. *With it also he blessed his visage.*

Euseb. de vita Constan. lib. 3. cap. 2.

R. Abbot.

R. ABBOT.

The signe of the crosse to which Constantine was so much affectioned was indeed [a] *the signe of the name of our Saviour*, consisting of the two Greeke letters χ and ρ, in forme of a crosse ☧, which are the two first letters of the name of Christ, and did *import the same whole name*, by the sight whereof in the skie Constantine was aduertised that [b] *by Christ he must conquere and ouercome.* To which name of Christ represented to Constantine his most excellent Maiestie giueth the same honour that Constantine did reposing therein the whole trust of his victorie and safetie both spirituall and corporall, and knowing that [c] *no other name is giuen vnder heauen by which we must be saued*, but only the name of Iesus Christ. And as for the signe of the crosse which M. Bishop intendeth, because it hath beene vsed as a monument and profession of the passion of Christ and his death for vs vpon the crosse, his Maiesty taketh that equall course that may both approoue the pietie of Constantine in the vsing of it, and yet shew his detestation of those corruptions wherewith the Papistes haue abused it. The signe of the crosse hath honourable place vpon his Maiesties imperiall crowne; it standeth publicklie to be beholden in the highest streete of his imperiall city: his Maiesties ensignes and banners weare it both by sea and land: our churches and market places commonly shew it throughout this whole land: in the celebration of baptisme it is by publicke order appointed alwaies to be vsed. What is then the signe of the crosse to prooue Constantine to be of *the same opinion in matter of religion with the present Romane church*, when we vse the same signe of the crosse and yet are aduersaries to the same church? Yea but M. Bishop will say that we vse it not so far as Constantine did; for *with it*, saith he, *Constantine blessed his visage.* Where he abuseth his Maiestie with false translation, the

[a] *Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 1. cap 25.*

[b] *Ibid. cap. 22.*

[c] *Act. 4. 7.*

story

[d] *Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 3. cap. 2.* story making no mention of *blessing* but only that [d] *he did signe his face with the signe* of the crosse. Wherein his Maiesty and our whole church do forbeare to do the same that Constantine did; not as to condemne Constantine & the first church for the doing of it, but to take away all shew of that superstition and abhomination wherewith latter time, specially vnder the tyrannie of Antichrist hath defiled that that Constantine did, the Papistes hauing attributed to the crosse the vertue and power of blessing, which Costantine sought for only in him whom he only remembred and professed by the crosse. Now [e] *if our predecessours haue done some things which at that time might be without fault and afterwardes be turned to errour and superstition, we are taught*, saith the law, *by Ezechias breaking the brasen serpent that the posteritie may abolish the same without anie delay and with great authority.* We doubt not but that the first church lawfully vsed the signe of the crosse to protest their faith in Christ crucified against the despights and reproches of Pagans and infidels, and in that simplicity of the vse thereof we doubt not but that sometimes miraculous workes were yeelded to the faith of them by whom it was vsed. We doubt not but that blamelesly also they vsed it in priuate and ordinary behauiour, [f] *lying downe and rising vp, going out and comming in, at the table, at candle lighting, at putting off and on their clothes, and whatsoeuer they went about*, but no otherwise but for a remembrance [g] *whatsoeuer they did either in word or deed to doe all in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ, giuing thankes to God euen the father by him.* Wherefore when Iulian accounted the Christians *base and wretched men for signing their houses and their foreheads with the signe of the crosse*, Cyril answered that it was *his ignorance to blame them* for that, because he knew not the meaning of it. [h] *For the Lord and Sauiour of all*, saith he, *albeit he might haue sitten still in the throne of his Godhead equall to God, yet humbled himselfe, taking vpon him the forme of a seruant, and despising the shame he indured the crosse that*

[e] *Dist. 63 cap. Quia.*

[f] *Tertul. de Corona militis.*

[g] *Col. 3. 17.*

[h] *Cyril. cont. Iulian. lib. 6.*

that he might abolish the power of corruption: dying alone for all and raised from the dead that he might deliuer mankinde from the snares of death, that he might destroy the tyranny of sinne which raigned in vs; that he might abbridge the law of sinne raging in the members of our bodies, and might make vs spirituall worshippers, and mortifying in vs the lust of the flesh might make them the children of God that doe beleeue in him, and sanctifie them by the spirit, that so he might bereaue Satan of his tyranny ouer all. All these things the signe of the crosse maketh vs to remember and willeth vs to thinke of that which the Apostle saith, One died for all that they which liue should hencefoorth not liue to themselues but vnto him which died for them and rose againe. Againe [1] *we vse*, saith he, *the signe of the crosse for a remembrance of all goodnesse and all vertue.* This only was the first vse of the signe of the crosse, and so long as it kept within this compasse, there was no cause of the refusing of it, neither should we refuse it if vpon the like occasion, and with the like simplicity and sobriety we might vse it as they did. But since the Harpyie of Rome hath had the handling of it, and made it a matter of magicall inchauntment, and through the currant of her prophanations it hath runne into the handes of coniurers, charmers, witches to be defiled with their diuelish and damnable practises, we haue had a religious care to cleere the first church in the vsing of it, but no further to vse it our selues then it may be washed from the soile and filth of those abhominations. Now therefore Constantines vsing of the signe of the crosse prooueth him not to haue beene alike minded with the present church of Rome, because we also approoue Constantines vsing of the crosse, and yet hate the doctrine of the present church of Rome.

[1] *Ibid.*

23. W. Bishop.

With fasting and other corporall affliction, he chastized his body, that he might please God. *Euseb. de vita Const. li. 2. c. 14.*

R. Abbot.

M. Bishop might euen as well haue argued out of the same chapter, *Constantine* praied for the saluation of his enemies, therefore he was of the same opinion in matter of religion with the present church of Rome. The words of the storie are these : [a] *Before the beginning of the battel the Emperour according to his manner in a tent apart bestowed a time free for powring foorth praier vnto God : he called himselfe from all licentious and luxurious course of life ; with fasting and afflicting of the body he chastened himselfe that he might finde God appeased towards him by his humble praiers, and a kinde helper vnto him, and so he might performe those things that God should put into his minde.* Now what a blinde reason haue we here, Constantine fasted and praied before he went into the battell, therefore Constantine was of the same opinion in religion with the present church of Rome? As if he should say, The Protestants by publicke order fasted and praied at the time of the Spanish inuasion, therefore the Protestants then were Papistes. The Protestantes fasted and prayed at the time of the great plague, therefore they were of the same opinion in matter of religion with the present church of Rome. Was he disposed to dally with his prince that he would bring in these ridiculous conclusions? But it is with him as it is with poore men, who hauing but a little must make the most of that they haue.

[a] *Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 2. cap. 14.*

24. W. Bishop.

Lib. 4. cap. 26. *He with incredible admiration, honoured professed Virgins, and made lawes in their fauour.*

R. Abbot.

True and chaste virginitie albeit in it self a thing meerly indifferent

indifferent to God-ward, yet as an excellent gift of God in the vse of it for the seruice *of the* [a] *kingdome of heauen*, and [b] *to cleaue to the Lord without distraction or separation*, deserueth to be admired and honoured amongst men. If therefore Constantine bringing the church out of those horrible stormes of persecutions, did finde therein many who to keep themselues the more secure with quiet minde to serue Iesus Christ, had betaken themselues to that course of single life, he had iust cause to yeeld them that honour and regard that did appertaine vnto them. But he neuer had any thought to approoue your cursed blasphemies, that single life should be [c] the merit of eternall life, a satisfaction for sinnes, a worke of supererogation for redemption of other mens sinnes: he honoured them onely for vsing the opportunitie thereof the more entirely to serue the Lord. Neither doe they want their admiration and due commendation amongst vs, who hauing power of themselues giuen vnto them of God doe vse the same to the forbearing of marriage, that in their places and callings they may with greater libertie and securitie applie themselues to serue the Lord. As for the lawes which M. Bishop saith Constantine made in the fauour of virgins, they are not such as that he should haue thought it worth the while for his purpose to speake thereof. For all this law-making was no more but the abolishing of an old vniust law, which did intercept the lands and possessions of such as died without children, that they should not go to their kinsfolke or friendes to whom they were willing to bestow them, but should be confiscate to the commonwealth. And this law-making did as much concerne married persons so dying without issue, as it did virgins, so seely a helpe hath M. Bishop heere for the fauour of his virgins. But by this law it appeareth that the virgins which Constantine respected were no such as M. Bishop dreameth of; they were no cloister-nunnes; they were not sequestred into corners; they did not forgoe what they

[a] *Mat.19.12.*
[b] *1.Cor.7.35.*
[c] *Pigh.contro. 14. de vot. monast.*
Breuiar.secund. vsum Sarum. commun.vnius virg. & mar. tyr.

possessed; they liued in their owne houses, or in the houses of their parents and friendes, and did such duties as might concerne them in the places where they were. And albeit much vncleannesse then was committed vnder pretence of virginitie, whilest many of curiositie and pride betooke themselues to the profession thereof, yet much was it encreased by M. Bishops virgins, whose cloisters were the verie [d] *lime-twiggs and ginnes of Satan, not sanctuaries of God, but houses of Venus, and cursed stewes of diuelliſh harlots, receptacles of wanton and vnchaste yongue men, for the fulfilling of their filthy lustes*, so that to *vsile a maide for a virgin was the same in a manner as to set her foorth to be a strumpet, and* [e] *common fornication was canonized to be accounted a holy state.* It was by the iust iudgement of God that their dwellings did spue them out for the horrible abhominations and filtheries that were found amongst them. Our church therefore not condemning what was simply done in this behalfe from the beginning, and leauing to single life the due commendation of it where it is deserued, yet considering the poisoned fruites that professed virginitie in all times hath brought foorth, taketh no course to draw any vnto it, nor forceth anie to continue therein, but leaueth Gods institution of marriage free for preseruing of puritie and holinesse towardes God. We haue well obserued how the Apostles though hauing ([f] *fearefully* indeed as Hierome saith) commended widdowhood and single life, and hauing saied of widowes estate, [g] *shee is at libertie to marrie with whom shee will, onely in the Lord; but shee is more blessed if shee so abide, in my iudgement*: yet when by occasion heereof many had embraced widowhood, who afterwards plaied the wantons, and from the shame of their lightnesse, proceeded to the denying of the faith of Christ, to take away all occasion heereof, gaue this for a Canon: [h] *I will that the younger widowes marrie and beare children and gouerne the house, and giue no occasion to the aduersarie to speake euill.* And therefore by

[d] *Catal. test. verit. ex Eberto. Clemang. de corrupt. eccle. statu. Centur. Magdeburg. 11 cap. 6. ex Iuone.*

[e] *Hospinian. de orig. Monachat. lib. 4. cap. 26.*

[f] *Hieron. adu. Iouin. lib. 1.*

[g] *1. Cor. 7. 39.*

[h] *1. Tim. 5. 14.*

by his example from the abstracted speculation of the preferment of single life in prioritie of gift, we haue fallen by experience and necessitie to the approbation and practise of another rule. Now therefore seeing in the verie point wee approoue the same that Constantine did approoue (that they are woorthie of admiration and honour, who occasion fitting doe preferre single life for the opportunitie of holinesse towards God) and onely by occasion taken from experience, doe forbeare in part the practise of that which he approoued, M. Bishop may as well say of vs as he may of Constantine, that we are of the same opinion in matter of religion with the present church of Rome, when indeed we vtterly detest and abhorre the same.

25 W. Bishop.

He builded many Churches in honour of the Apostles, and Martyrs, and as S. Chrysostome *recordeth: He that was reuested in purple, went to embrace the Sepulchers of S.* Peter, *and S.* Paul, *and all Princely state laide aside, stood humblie praying vnto the Saints, that they would be intercessors for him vnto God.*

Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 3. c. 47. & alibi. Chrysost. hom. 66. ad pop. Antioch.

R. Abbot.

Wee builde Churches when and where neede is in honour of the Apostles and martyrs, and where they are alreadie builded we retaine the names whereby they were first named to their honour, *S. Maries church, S. Peters church. &c.* And if he will heereby prooue that Constantine was a Papist he may say the like of vs. The honour that we intend to the Saints heereby is the same that Constantine intended, [a] *celebrare martyrum memorias, to renowme the memories of the martyrs.* It is the honourable remembrance of their names, not the religious worship of their persons, euen as S. Austen saith that [b] *in these memorialls there was a naming of them in their place and order*

[a] *Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 3. cap. 47.*
[b] *August. de ciuit. Dei. lib. 22. cap. 10.*

order at the celebration of the sacrament *but no inuocation of them.* M. Bishop would haue inuocation and worshipe done to the Saints in their churches, but Constantine yeelded no such seruice vnto them, and we accordingly deny the same. Nay they that [c] *build temples to Angels or to any creatures in* that sense, or name them by their names as there [d] *to pray vnto them, are accursed by the auncient church, because they yeeld thereby to the creature that seruice that belongeth to God only*, which to impute to that Christian and godly Emperour were no other but an impious & wicked slaunder. Yet M. Bishop taketh vpon him to proue by Chrysostome that Constantine did yeeld such honour and worshipe to S. Peter, and S. Paul by praying vnto them. *He that is reuested in purple goeth to embrace the sepulchers of S. Peter and S. Paul and all princely state laied aside standeth humbly praying vnto the Saints that they would be intercessours vnto God for him.* Where we deny not Chrysostome to be the authour of the wordes which he citeth, if he had truely translated them. For though the first part of the homily whence he citeth them bee vndoubtedly counterfeite, as appeareth by the matters of story in the beginning which cannot agree to the time of Chrysostome, yet the authour of the beginning hath taken the latter and greater part thereof out of a [e] sermon of Chrysostome otherwhere: but the wordes that hee citeth are not spoken of Constantine as he pretendeth them to be. Which to colour and hide that his Reader might not take knowledge of it, he altereth the *Tense* wherein Chrysostome speaketh. Chrysostome saith, *He that is reuested:* M. Bishop saith, *he that was.* Chrysostome saith, *he goeth*; M. Bishop saith, *he went.* Chrysostome saith, *he standeth:* M. Bishop saith, *he stood humbly praying. &c.* which albeit the course of his speech seemeth to require, yet inasmuch as vnder pretense therof he plainly altereth the meaning of Chrysostome, he cannot be excused of dealing falsely with his Maiesty in citing him

[c] *Idem cont. Maximi. Arian. lib. 1. art. 11.*
[d] *Theodoret. in Coloss. cap. 2.*
[e] *In 2. epist. ad Corint. hom. 26.*

in

in that sort. For Chrysostome speaking in the *present tense* doth thereby plainely shew that he meaneth that which he saith, as indeede he doth of the Emperour that then was when he spake these words which was the Emperour Arcadius, aboue threescore yeeres after the death of Constantine. For soone after the beginning of the reigne of Arcadius Chrysostome, being before a priest of the church of Antioch, succeeded Nectarius in the Bishopricke of Constantinople where he deliuered these words. Of Arcadius then Chrysostom saith that which he saith: of Constantine he saith it not. But of Constantine it is that we enquire; for what others did after the time of Constantine, superstition more and more increasing, it nothing concerneth him. Yea and howsoeuer Chrysostome there, to amplifie the glory of the Martyrs, which is the matter that he hath in hand, doe alleage what the Emperour *de facto* did, yet his owne groundes of doctrine otherwhere are sufficient to perswade vs that he himselfe approoued not anie such superstitious inuocation; thereby shewing that in that allegation he dealt but as Oratours are woont to doe who apprehend euery thing that may probably make for the present turne, howsoeuer the same happily be not so consonant to their owne precepts otherwise. For he himselfe teacheth that to *God*, to Iesus Christ [f] *we needе no porter, no mediatour, no officer, but euen to say, Haue mercy vpon me, and he will foorthwith be present vnto vs.* And for example hereof he commendeth [g] *the wisedome of the woman of Canaan, that shee intreated not Iames, nor made request to Iohn, nor went to Peter, nor looked to the whole company of the Apostles, nor sought for any mediatour, but tooke repentance to be her aduocate, and so went to the verie fountaine.* He teacheth that [h] *with God we needе no intercessours, we haue no needе to intreate others, but though a man be alone and haue no proctour to speake for him, but by himselfe pray to God, he shalbe made partaker of his request.* But what opinion the ancient church had of worshipping

[f] *Chrysost. hom. 17. ex varijs in Math. locis.*

[g] *Ibid.*

[h] *Hom. de profect. Euangelij tom. 4.*

of

of sepulchers and inuocation of Saints it hath been before declared; it is sufficient here that we acquit Constantine from the opinion and practise thereof. But the thing that is spoken of Constantine in the place cited is, that *his sonne thought it a great honour that he might lay his fathers body in the porch or entry of S. Peter.* Which speech howsoeuer it proceeded from Chrysostome is much different from the certaine and vndoubted story of Constantines buriall, of whom Eusebius declareth that building a sumptuous and stately church for a memoriall of the twelue Apostles he did there also erect [1] *twelue goodly pillars*, & so placed them as to haue in the middest a tombe and buriall for his owne body. This Constantine assumed to himself as a matter of his own disposition and agreeing to his imperiall state, and left it not as an honor of religious courtesie to be procured by his sonne. And therefore we cannot see how Chrysostome should iustly say that his sonne thought it an honour done to his father, that he might lay his body in S. Peters porch, vnlesse we should thinke that they did him an honour to lay him in the buriall which he himselfe had prouided for himselfe. But let this passe as being nothing to the purpose: onely let M. Bishop remember that he hath done Constantine wrong in making Chrysostome to report of him that which indeed he reported not, and therefore as yet we haue no proofe that Constantine was of the same opinion in matter of religion with the present church of Rome.

[1] *Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 4. cap. 60.*

26. W. Bishop.

Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 4. cap. 60. *Ibid. cap. 71.*

He further tooke order for the burying of his owne body, in the middest of the Tombes of the twelue Apostles, that after his death he might be partaker of the praiers, which should be there offered in the honour of the Apostles. *Neither was he frustrated of his holy desire, for as it followeth in the 71. Chap. of the same booke, at his funerals, the people ioining with the*

the Priests, with many teares, and great sighes, powred out praiers for the good Emperours soule.

R. Abbot.

Those *twelue pillars* before-named, erected by Constantine to answer the number of the twelue Apostles, wherewith for princely state he enuironed the place of his owne buriall, M. Bishop by his skill of metamorphising hath turned into the *tombes of the twelue Apostles*, whereas there was not any one of the Apostles buried or entombed there. Againe, he goeth about to perswade his Maiestie a matter as of Constantines intention, which was indeed no other but the historians inuidicious and presumed application, and yet as it is standeth M. Bishop in no steede at all. Let him giue me leaue to censure Eusebius a little, because the [a] Canons of his owne church haue censured him much more. By Eusebius himselfe it is plaine that Constantine at the first acquainted no man with his purpose in the building of those twelue pillars; but forsooth [b] *at the last it was plainly found by all men* what he ment thereby. Yet Constantine did no more but onely take order that his body should be buried there, but Eusebius maketh construction what he thought thereof long before, when by his owne confession he saide nothing. Constantine praied not for his [c] fathers soule at the performance of his funerals, nor wished any praiers to be made after his death for his owne soule, but hauing receiued baptisme newly before his death, professed a stedfast hope that needed no such after-praiers; [d] *Now I know that I am indeed a blessed and happy man; that God hath accounted me woorthy of immortall life, and that I am now made partaker of the light of God.* And when they that stood about him wished him longer life, he answered [e] *that he had now attained the true life, and that none but himselfe did vnderstand of what happinesse he was made partaker, and therefore that*

[a] *Gelas. 1. de cret. de Apocry. Dist. 15. sancta Romana.*

[b] *Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 4. cap. 59.*

[c] *De vita Constant. li. 1. c. 16.*

[d] *Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 63.*

[e] *Ibid.*

he hastened and would not delay his going to his God. Thus Constantine died outright a Protestant, he craued no praiers for his soule, he dreaded no Purgatorie; he died with full resolution of going immediately to his God. And thus Eusebius speaketh of him; [f] *About noone,* saith he, *he was taken up to God, leauing to the ground the mortall part of himselfe, but as touching the vnderstanding soule, the more diuine part being ioined to his God.* But why then did the people praie for his soule? Surely not to deliuer him from Purgatorie: no man did imagine him to be broiling there; no man made question but that the soule of Constantine was in heauen. They praied onely to testifie their loue in wishing well to him to whom further they could doe nothing, euen as many amongst vs, who talking of friends departed, are woont to say, *God rest his soule, Gods peace be with his soule,* who yet notwithstanding deride and despise both Purgatorie and the Pope: euen as Austin praied for his mother Monica, and yet saith, [g] *I beleeue that thou O Lord hast already don that that I request, but do thou approue the freewil offrings of my mouth:* euen as Ambrose praied for the emperor Theodosius, and yet saith of him, [h] *Theodosius being freed from doubtful fight doth now enioy the light euerlasting, continuall tranquilitie & peace, & for the thinges that he did in the body reioiceth now in the fruits of Gods reward: because he loued the Lord his God, he hath obteined the companie of the Saints:* euen as Charles the Great wrote to king Offa of this land, [i] *to haue intercession made* for Adrian the bishop of Rome being dead, not *doubting,* saith he, *but that his soule is at rest, but yet to shew our faithfulnesse and loue to so deare a friend.* It is Purgatorie that M. Bishop seeketh for, in praier for the dead. If Purgatory be not in praier for the dead, it serueth not his turne. But in their praiers no Purgatorie was implied, as was before more at large declared; they serued to professe their beleefe as touching the hope of the faithfull in death, and to expresse their loue to them of whom they were

[f] *Ibid. cap. 64.*

[g] *August. Confess. li. 9. ca. 13.*

[h] *Ambros. de obit. Theodosii.*

[i] *Foxe Acts and Monum. lib. 2. prope finem.*

vndoubtedlie

vndoubtedlie perſwaded, that they were alreadie with the Lord.

27. W. Bishop.

Againe at a ſolemne feaſt which he held at the dedication of the Church built by him in Ieruſalem; ſome of his clergie preached and expounded the holie Scriptures: and other ſome with vnbloudie Sacrifice, and Myſticall conſecrations, *appeaſed the Godhead, and praied for the health of the Prince.* *Ibidem de vita Conſt. lib. 4. ca. 45.*

R. Abbot.

This is as much as if M. Biſhop ſhould ſay, that vpon the Coronation day of his Maieſtie, our miniſters and clergie in our ſolemne aſſemblies do preach the word of God, and adminiſter the holy communion with thankſgiuing to God for his mercy, and by this memoriall of the paſſion of Chriſt entreating God for the forgiueneſſe of our ſins and continuance of his goodneſſe towards vs; therefore both his Maieſtie and we all are of the ſame opinion in matter of religion with the preſent church of Rome. Let him vſe the beſt ſtrength he can, yet ſhall he not by the words of Euſebius proone any other thing then done vnder Conſtantine, but what by vs vnder his moſt excellent Maieſty is done at this preſent time. For what? becauſe Euſebius mentioneth *vnbloudy ſacrifice* muſt we hereby conceiue to be ment the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, a true and reall ſacrifice wherein the very body and blood of Chriſt really and ſubſtantially preſent is offered to God for propitiation of ſinnes both of quicke and dead? Euſebius was very farre from any ſuch meaning teaching vs that [a] *Chriſt hauing offered a maruelous ſacrifice and moſt excellent oblation for our ſaluation did deliuer vnto vs to offer vnto god a memoriall or remembrance thereof inſteed of a ſacrifice. The remembrance of which ſacrifice*, he ſaith, *we haue learned to*

[a] *Euſeb. demonſtrat. Euang. lib. 1.*

performe at his table by the signes of his body and bloud. So that whereas M. Bishop would haue vs to beleeue a reall sacrifice, Eusebius telleth vs only of *a remembrance in steed of sacrifice*: and whereas M. Bishop would haue the sacrifice performed by the verie body and blood of Christ, Eusebius telleth vs that it is performed by *the signes of his body and bloud.* The manner of the fathers indeed is to call the celebration of the sacrament by the name of *a sacrifice*, because as S. Austin obserueth touching that point, [b] *sacraments do take the names of the things whereof they are sacraments because of the resemblance that they haue to the same things; euen as the sacrament of Christes body is in some sort his body, and the sacrament of Christes bloud is in some sort his bloud, and though Christ suffered but once, yet because of the celebration of the sacrament it is cald the day of Christs passion wherein we keepe the memoriall thereof, and though Christ in himselfe were sacrificed but once, yet in a sacrament or mysterie he is euery day sacrificed for the people; not in himselfe, but in a mysterie*: euen as elsewhere he saith: *that* [c] *the flesh and blood of Christs sacrifice was giuen in his passion in very truth, but after his ascension is celebrated by a sacrament of remembrance.* And thus the fathers themselues declare their owne meaning purposely and professedly, [d] *we offer not another sacrifice but alwaies the same, yea rather we worke the remembrance of a sacrifice*: [e] *We offer him the same alwaies or rather we make a remembrance of the offering of him as if he were now offered or sacrificed*: [f] *We doe not offer another sacrifice but doe performe a remembrance of that one and sauing sacrifice, that by beholding the figures or signes we may call to minde the sufferings that he vndertooke for vs.* And hereto serue the wordes of Cyprian; [g] *In all our sacrifices we make mention of the Lords passion, for the passion of the Lord is the sacrifice which we offer.* For if the *passion of Christ* be the sacrifice which we offer, our sacrifice cannot be a sacrifice now really offered, because Christ now suffereth not his passion really, and therefore it is but only a memoriall of the sacrifice

[b] *August. epist. 23.*

[c] *Cont. Faust. Manich. lib. 20. ca. 21.*

[d] *Chrysost. & Ambros. in Heb. 10.*

[e] *Theophyl. in Heb. 10.*

[f] *Theodoret. in Heb. 8.*

[g] *Cypr. lib. 2. epist. 3.*

crifice of his passion, of which S. Austin truely saith, [h] *for the soueraigne and only true sacrifice the blond of Christ was shed for vs*, that we may vnderstand that *the shedding of Christs blond*, which was only vpon the crosse, was the only true sacrifice, and our sacrifice only so called for that it is the resemblance and remembrance thereof. Which is ineuitably and inuincibly deduced from a principle which Bellarmine himselfe cannot but acknowledge and yeeld vnto. For [i] *to a true and reall sacrifice there is necessarie a true and reall death or destroying of the thing sacrificed.* But there is now no true and reall death or destroying of the body of Christ, and therefore now there can be no true and reall sacrifice thereof. With which argument the great Iesuite is so troubled as that he staggereth like a drunken man, and indeed knoweth not what to say, neither can M. Bishop with all his fellowes deuise a salue to helpe that sore. The Iesuite telleth vs for answeare to the matter that *by consecration the body of Christ is ordeined to a true, real, & externall alteration and destruction.* By consecration then the body of Christ is ordeined and prepared to that destruction, but not yet destroied, and therefore in consecration is no sacrifice, and how then standeth it which afterwards he saith that *the Apostles did sacrifice by consecration?* He telleth vs that *by consecration the bodie of Christ receiueth the forme of food, and food is ordeined for eating, and consequentlie for alteration and destruction.* But then there can be no sacrifice till it be food indeed, because till it be food there can be no alteration nor destruction. So that the sacrifice dependeth vpon that which the priest eateth, and if the priest eat not, then there is no sacrifice. And what if he doe eate and according to the cases that they put doe after his masse cast it vp againe before it receiue any alteration; is there then a sacrifice or not? For Thomas Aquinas telleth vs that [k] *the bodie of Christ remaineth in the stomacke so long as the substance of bread would remaine if it were there*; so that if before digestion he cast vp

[h] *August. cont. aduersar. leg. & prophet. li. 1. ca. 18.*

[i] *Bellarm. de Missa lib. 1. ca. 2. & 27.*

[k] *Thom. Aquin. part. 3. q. 80. art. 3. in corp.*

that which he hath eaten, it is still the body of Christ; and I would then know whether there haue beene a sacrifice or not? Bellarmine telleth vs that the altering and destroying of the body of Christ which must make it a sacrifice, consisteth in this that it doth *amittere esse sacramentale, loose the sacramentall being of it*. But in this case it hath not yet lost his sacramentall being; therefore as yet it cannot be affirmed to be a sacrifice. Yea and the loosing of that sacramentall being is no true and reall destroying of the body of Christ: how then is there a true and reall sacrifice of the same body? And how is this loosing of the *sacramentale being thereof?* forsooth *desinit esse in altari: it ceaseth to be vpon the altar*. But it must haue the being of a sacrifice vpon the altar or not at all. For there it is a sacrifice where it is offered: but vpon the altar it is offered; therefore vpon the altar it must haue the condition of a sacrifice, and not by being taken from the altar. And what if it be not taken from the altar at all, shall this againe hinder the sacrifice? Howsoeuer that be, shall we say that the ceasing of the body of Christ to be vpon the altar is a true and reall destroying thereof? When Isaac was bound and laid vpon the altar, and was then againe vnbound and taken from the altar, might it be said thereupon that he was truly and really destroied? He addeth further, *desinit esse cibus sensibilis, it ceaseth to be sensible food*. But that it ceaseth not to be but in the priests belly; so that in the priests belly is the act of sacrifice, or else there is no sacrifice at all. A goodly matter that the Priests belly is become the altar where Christ must be sacrificed for the forgiuenesse of the sins of quicke and dead. Let vs heare, M. Bishop, how you free your self from this imputation: all the Iesuites learning could not do it, let vs see what help you can yeeld him in this behalf. Now as the name of sacrifice, so the name of *vnbloudy sacrifice* hath a far other meaning with the fathers thē M. Bishop gathereth thereof, not being opposed to the sacrifice of Christ vpō the crosse, but to the bloudy sacrifices of the Iewes

Iewes in the killing of sheep and oxen and such other like, [1] *almost all things amongst them being purged with bloud.* And this is plain by the authour of the Apostolike constitutions vnder the name of *Clemens*, who making a comparison betwixt the Iewes and vs amongst other points setteth down this. [m] *Insteed of bloudy sacrifice he hath ordeined a reasonable, vnbloudy and mysticall sacrifice, which for memoriall of the Lords death is celebrated by the signes of his body and bloud,* expressly to the same purpose as Eusebius hath before spoken. Where albeit he applie the name of *vnbloudy sacrifice* to the Lordes supper, yet how farre from the meaning of a true and reall sacrifice, let Iustinus Martyr teach vs, who saith, [n] *that praiers and thankesgiuings are the only sacrifices that Christians haue receiued to offer, that by their drie and moist nourishment* (that is the outward elements of bread and wine) *they may be admonished of those things which God the sonne of God hath suffered for them*, plainly instructing vs that in the sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ there is nothing else ment by the name of *vnbloudy sacrifice* but only praier and thankfull remembrance of that sacrifice which Christ the sonne of God hath offered for vs. In a word very euident and plaine it is that by the name of *vnbloudy sacrifice* they noted the whole spirituall worship of God, which is recommended vnto vs without that carnall seruice which by bloud was performed in the law. So Cyril saieth that [o] *God hauing cut off all bloudy sacrifices hath taught vs by Christ to worship him in spirit and truth,* and thereby giueth vs to vnderstand that to offer the *vnbloudy sacrifice* is to worship God in *spirit and truth*, which he further expresseth in another place saying [p] *that we hauing left the grosse and carnall seruice of the Iewes doe vse spirituall and mentall sacrifices, offering to God for a sweete sauour faith, hope, charity, iustice, continency, obedience, gentlenesse, continuall praises and other vertues.* Thus Oecumenius defineth [q] *the vnbloudy sacrifice* to consist *in vowes and hymnes and praiers vnto God*, and Eusebius [r] *in pure and holy*

[1] *Heb. 9. 22.*

[m] *Clem Apostol. Constitut. lib. 6. cap. 23.*

[n] *Iustin. Mart. dial. cum Tryphone.*

[o] *Cyril. cont. Iulian. lib. 4.*

[p] *lib. 10.*

[q] *Oecumen. in Heb. 13.*

[r] *Euseb. de demonstrat. Euang. lib. 1.*

holy workes, and confounding it so often with [f] *the reasonable seruice of God* commended to vs by the Apostle S. Paul, teacheth vs that it standeth [t] *in giuing vp our bodies to be a liuing sacrifice holy and acceptable vnto God*, and at large describeth it thus; *We sacrifice and burne incense, one way celebrating the remembrance of that great sacrifice by the mysteries which he hath deliuered and giuing thankes for our saluation, and offering religious and deuout hymnes and praiers to God: another way consecrating our selues wholly vnto him, and dedicating our selues both in body and soule to his high priest euen the word Iesus Christ.* Thus Cyril saith that [u] *Christ hath innumerable in heauen that doe offer vnto him spirituall and vnbloudy sacrifices*, and we hope that M. Bishop will not hereupon gather that the Saints say Masse in heauen, but will take the same for *hymnes and praises and thanksgiuings*, as by Cyril himselfe it is expounded. By all which it is plaine and euident that the name of *vnbloudy sacrifice* in the language of the fathers soundeth nothing but what is approoued and followed in the doctrine and practise of our church.

[f] *Ibid.*

[t] *Rom. 12. 1.*

[u] *Cyril. de recta fide ad Regin. lib. post.*

As for *mysticall consecration* it is but that which S. Austin speaketh of concerning baptisme, [x] *the adding of the word to the outward element to make thereof a sacrament*, whereby the thing that in nature is common becommeth mysticall in vse, [y] *not by changing the nature thereof, but by adding grace vnto nature.* And thus bread and wine by consecration or *sanctification* through the word of God become *mysticall signes* of the body and bloud of Christ, yet [z] *they doe not hereby depart from their nature of* bread and wine, *but they continue still in their former substance and figure and forme*, though vnderstood *to be that they are now made*, *mysticall signes* of Christs body and bloud, and therefore vsed with reuerence accordingly. For [a] *mysteries are so called*, as Chrysostom saith, *because we doe not see therein that which we beleeue, but we see one thing and beleeue another. The vnbeleeuer*, saith he, *hearing of the water of baptisme*

[x] *August. in Ioan. tract. 80.*

[y] *Theod. dial. 1.*

[z] *Theod. dial. 2.*

[a] *Chrysostom. in 1. Cor. hom. 7.*

baptisme taketh it to be meerely water, but I doe not barely see that which I see, but I behold therein the clensing of the soule by the holy ghost. To which purpose it is said by the Nicene councell, [b] *Our baptisme must be considered not with bodily eies but with the eies of the minde. Thou seest water, but consider the power of God hidden in the water. Thinke the water to be full of the sanctification of the holy ghost and of diuine fire.* So therefore [c] *the sacraments which we receiue of the body and bloud of Christ* are to our faith by this mysticall consecration *a diuine thing, and we thereby* (being duely partakers thereof) *are made partakers of the diuine nature, and yet there ceaseth not to be the substance or nature of bread and wine.* Wherefore neither in *vnbloudy sacrifice nor in mysticall consecration* hath M. Bishop found any thing to helpe himselfe, nor hath yet any good ground whereupon to affirme that Constantine was of the same opinion in matter of religion with the present church of Rome.

[b] *Concil. Nicen. append. ex Cutbert. Tonstall.*

[c] *Gelas. cont. Eutych. & Nestor.*

28. W. Bishop.

Moreouer this zealous emperour reprehended Acasius, (*a Nouatian hereticke*) *for saying, that it was not in the power of Priests, but of God onely to forgiue sinnes.* (*a Sozomen. lib. 1. hist. Eccl. cap. 21.*

R. Abbot.

If M. Bishop had but the common honesty of a man, he would not thus seeke to delude any man, much lesse deale thus vndutifully and disloially with his prince. He cannot but know if he know the storie at all, but that in this matter of Acesius there is nothing either for him or against vs in any controuersie betwxit vs and them. In the time of Decius the emperour [a] there were manie that for feare and by extremitie of torment did renounce their faith, and yeelded to sacrifice vnto idols. Of these there grew question afterwards, whether they were vpon

[a] *Theodoret. haret. fabul. li. 3. in Nouato.*

their repentance to be admitted to the communion of the church or not. Nouatus defended that they were not to be any more receiued to the fellowship of the church, and added further that no man so falling could be put in hope of saluatiō, [b] *albeit he did afterwards all things pertaining to repentance and confession of the faith of Christ.* Heereupon he and his followers first withdrawing themselues, were excommunicated and separated from the church. Acesius afterwards at the time of the Nicene Councell was a bishop of this faction. [c] Constantine desirous to bring all to vnitie and concord, sent for the same Acesius to be present at the Councell, and all being there ended, asked of him how he did approoue those things that were agreed vpon concerning the rule of faith and obseruation of Easter. He signified his liking thereōf as which had testimonie from the verie time of the Apostles. The emperour demaundeth why then he did not communicate with the church? Acesius heereupon reporteth the whole matter that befell vpon the persecution of Decius the emperour, and propoundeth the obseruation of a very rigorous Canon, *that they who after Baptisme did fall into that kinde of sinne which the Scriptures call the sinne vnto death, should not be partakers of the holy mysteries, but should bee exhorted to repentance and expect the hope of forgiuenesse, not at the priests hands but of God, who both can and hath authoritie to forgiue sins.* To whom Constantine answered, *Why then, Acesius, set vp a ladder for thy selfe, & go thou alone to heauen.* Where we are first to obserue that M. Bishop misreporteth the wordes of Acesius, as if he had wholly denied to the ministerie of the church the power of *remuting sinnes*, whereas he denied onely the power to remit [d] *illud peccati genus, that kinde of sinne*, meaning thereby mortall and greeuous sinne, misunderstanding to that purpose and misapplying the words of S. Iohn, [e] *There is a sin vnto death, for which I say not that men should pray.* In which point we altogither differ from Acesius, affirming that the church doth not forgiue

[b] *Euseb. hist. Eccl. lib. 6. ca. 42.*

[c] *Socrat. hist. lib. 2. ca. 7. Sozomen. lib. 1. cap. 21.*

[d] *Socrat. & Sozomen. vt supr.*

[e] *1. Iohn. 5. 16.*

forgiue lesser sinnes onely, but also greater; yea with Ambrose we make greater sinnes the more speciall subiect of this remission, because [f] *greater fals are to be supported with the greater staies,* and men in most hainous sinnes do most hardly yeeld satisfaction and comfort to themselues. Againe, we are to note, that the matter heere spoken of is not that Popish priuate absolution which M. Bishop heere deceitfully recommendeth to his Maiestie, a thing which neither Constantine nor Acesius euer imagined or dreamed of, as it is now practised in the church of Rome, but it is rather the publicke absolution and forgiuenesse of the church whereby men excommunicated or debarred from the communion for notorious offences, were vpon good satisfactiō & assurance of their true repentance receiued againe to be partakers of the table of the Lord. And this appeareth plainly by the phrases whereby they noted this *forgiuenesse,* [g] *concedere pacem, to graunt reconcilement:* [h] *tribuere communicationem, to yeeld publicke fellowship:* [i] *reddere communionem, to giue them the communion againe.* But it appeareth more plainly by that which S. Austin affirmeth to haue beene [k] *a warie and good proniso* of the auncient church very neer to the Canon which Acesius vrged, that in notorious and great offences [l] *repentance*, and consequently *forgiuenesse* should be graunted but onely once, which M. Bishop will not conceiue of forgiuing of sinnes, and by the church it was not denied to leaue hope of Gods forgiuenesse, and therefore must needs be vnderstood of *church-forgiuenesse*, to be admitted to the communion againe. Now Acesius wholly denied that after baptisme any such forgiuenesse might be yeelded to notorious offenders: he admitted them to be *penitents*, and would haue them exhorted to true repentance, and so left to God, but hee graunted them no reconcilement nor restitution to the church. What is this then to vs, who denie not but that the Ministerie of the Church hath authoritie as to binde and separate, so to loose

[f] *Ambros. de pœnitent. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

[g] *Cyprian. de lapsis.*
[h] *Ibid.*
[i] *Ambros. de pœnitent. lib. 1. ca. 1.*
[k] *August. epist. 54.*
[l] *Socrat. hist. lib. 6. ca. 19.*

[m] 2. Cor. 2. 7. 10. [n] Gal. 6. 1. and to receiue againe, [m] *to forgiue, to comfort,* [n] *to restore* them whom the sorrow of their sinnes hath cast downe that *they may not be swallowed vp with ouermuch heauinesse*, and that not only in small but in great sinnes also, not once only as the auncient church did, but as Chrysostome against that auncient Canon said, [o] *Enter if thou repent euen a thousand times.* But this *forgiuenesse in foro ecclesiæ* being a part of the publicke discipline of the church was not nor is *in it selfe* that which *properly* we call *forgiuenesse of sinnes* inwardly *by it selfe* to acquit the conscience to God. Albeit we deny not but that the faithfull penitent vpon conscience of his true repentance, by profession whereof he is acquitted on earth, apprehendeth *in foro conscientiæ* that by Christ he is also acquited in heauen, because he hath said, [p] *whatsoeuer ye binde on earth, shalbe bound in heauen, and whatsoeuer ye loose vpon earth shalbe loosed in heauen.* But the assurance of this *forgiuenesse of sinnes* is gathered only by a consequent of that which the minister doth, and consisteth not as the popish priest imagineth in the very act it selfe of ministeriall absolution. The offendour by excommunication is cut off from the body of the church, wherein only is forgiuenesse of sinnes, and out of the society whereof there is no forgiuenesse. Which cutting off notwithstanding is no other but the notification of the sentence of God whereby he stoode cut off before from the first acting of his sinne. And this is to him so long as he so continueth an assurance that he standeth in the state of condemnation, because Christ hath said *whatsoeuer ye binde on earth shalbe bound in heauen*, and [q] *whose sinnes yee retaine they are reteined*, albeit it be not by their act that he is first *bound in heauen*, who before was bound, and should be bound in heauen though in earth he be not bound; but their act is only the publication and testimonie thereof. But when God toucheth his heart with vnfeined repentance, the case is foorthwith altered with God, neither doe we doubt but from the first moment he is with God

[o] Socrat. hist. lib. 6. ca. 19. [p] Matt. 18. 18. [q] Iohn. 20. 23.

God freed from his sinne, and reunited to the body and fellowship of the church; yet the notification and knowledg of this releasse is to be taken from the sentence of the church by being by the absolution thereof restored againe to that communion and fellowship to which properly appertaineth the benefite of *remission of sinnes*. Whereof if the penitent by occasion faile, yet as Ambrose said of Valentinian the Emperour dyinge without baptisme that [r] *therefore he was as if he had it, because he did desire it*; so the penitents desire of forgiuenesse for reconcilement to the church supplieth the want thereof, because the act of the church is not the act of Gods forgiuenesse, but the testimony and declaration of that which beforehand is alreadie done with God. Which therefore is nothing with God if there be not in the party absolued that penitencie that should reconcile him vnto God, and though outwardly he be, yet is he not spiritually reconciled to the body of the church. And yet if afterwards he shall vnfeinedly repent, he hath thereby assured hope of forgiuenesse with God, because there standeth not against him any barre of disunion from the society of the church, the former releasse taking effect without iteration, euen as baptisme though counterfeitly taken hath effect to ingraffe into the body of the church without any rebaptising when the party baptised shall afterwards by true conuersion approoue the same. Thus therefore *spiritually to forgiue sinnes* properly belongeth to God only, neither doth the church therein take vnto it any society or fellowship with him. Therfore Ambrose noteth [r] that *whē Christ would pardon the sinne of* the adultresse in the Gospell *he abode alone. For it is not the embassadour, it is not the messenger*, saith he, *but the Lord himselfe that hath saued his people. He abideth alone because it cannot be common to any man with Christ to forgiue sinnes. This is the office of Christ only who hath taken away the sinnes of the world.* And this whole matter plainly appeareth by Cyprian who professedly speaking of the ab-

[r] *Ambros. de obit. Valentin.*

[r] *Ambros. epist. 76.*

solution and forgiuenesse of the church by occasion of some who ouer easily had obteined the same that they might not flatter themselues that they were thereby discharged, wholly to ouerthrow M. Bishops craft and occupation of forgiueing of sinnes, vseth these words [r] *Let no man deceiue himselfe, let no man beguile himselfe: it is the Lord onely that can shew mercy; it is he onely that can pardon the sinnes that are committed against him, who himselfe bare our sinnes, who sorrowed for vs, whom God deliuered for our sinnes. Man cannot be greater then God, neither can the seruant by his fauour remit or pardon that which by great trespasse is committed against the Lord, lest to the former fall this be added for another fault to be ignorant of that that is saide, Cursed is the man that trusteth in man. The Lord is to be intreated who onely hath receiued all iudgement of the Father.* Thus Cyprian spake, than whom no man disputed more earnestly against the Nouatian & Aecsian heretickes: hee challengeth the power of forgiuing sinnes, as it is properly vnderstood to God onely: he yeeldeth to the Ministerie a power to remit and forgiue, but so, as it remaineth to God [s] *to make good that which for penitents is done by the Priest* or by the ministerie of the church. Speaking purposely of the absolution giuen by the church, he woulde neuer haue so absolutely disclaimed the forgiuenesse of sinnes, if he had taken the Priests absolution to be as the Popish Priest taketh it, an immediate and actuall forgiuenesse in the sight of God. But he neuer knew M. Bishops faculties of forgiuing sinnes, a meere deluding and destroying of soules, he was neuer acquainted with his popish shrift or auricular confession. We approoue the same that he did; we set no barre against any mans reconcilement to the church. We pronounce forgiuenesse of sinnes by the worde of the Gospell generally to all that repent. Particularly also to euery man afflicted in conscience, and truely repenting him thereof we say, [x] *Be of good comfort; thy sinnes are forgiuen thee: For so God hath* [y] *promised, and*

[r] *Cyprian. de lapsis.*

[s] *ibid. sub finem.*

[x] *Matt. 9. 2.*

[y] *Ierem. 31. 34.*

to

to [z] *Iesus Christ all the prophets beare witnesse that through his name all that beleeue in him shall haue forgiuenesse of sinnes.* [z] *Acts. 10. 43.*

And that in distresse of minde by occasion of any *weighty matter* he may the more fully and effectually apprehend the comfort heereof, Christ hauing giuen authority for the reconcilement of sinners to the body of the Church in the society thereof to be partakers of the forgiuenesse of sins, because out of that society there is no forgiuenesse, we doubt not to say in the ministerie of the church, [a] *I absolue thee from al thy sins*, not as meerly by this our act to acquite him in heauen, but hereby to assure him that Christ acquiteth him in heauen, because he hath promised, that what we loose on earth shal be loosed in heauen, as before was said. But otherwise or in other meaning to say as the Popish Priest saith, *I absolue thee from all thy sins*, we hold it a presumption of Antichrist, and no authority giuen thereof by the Gospell of Iesus Christ.

[a] *Common booke in the visitation of the sicke.*

29. W. Bishop.

Finally, toward true Bishops, the lawfull Pastors of Christs Church, he caried such a reuerend respect: that being in the Councell of Nice, he would not sit downe, before they had beckned vnto him so to doe. And was so farre from taking vpon him to be supreame iudge, in causes Ecclesiasticall; that he openly there professed, that it did not belong to him to iudge of Bishops, but to be iudged by them.

R. Abbot.

The singular modestie and humilitie of this most noble Christian Emperour is by M. Bishop singularly abused to his wronge, and to the derogation of all other Christian princes, and is vrged against the practise of himselfe. He was of so lowly carriage, as that he called [a] *euerie one his brother and fellow seruant*, and therefore no maruell if towards

[a] *Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 3. cap. 23.*

towards so many graue and reuerend bishops he demea-
[b] *ibid. cap. 10.* ned himselfe in very modest wise. He sat not downe till the bishops beckned on him, but yet he sate [b] *in the highest place on a seate of gold*; they all rose to him at his comming in, and sate not downe till he was set, and his lowly behauiour towards them did not make them forget their duetie towards him. When he was sett they bring to him their libells and articles one against another; he for loue and quietnesse sake refuseth to meddle therewith: he telleth them that he were fitter to be iudged by them then they by him, and so causeth all their scroles and bils to be cast into the fire, and bendeth himselfe to perswade them all to concord and peace. But therein we see the Bishops acknowledging him to be their supreme iudge, and therefore referring their quarrels and controuersies to him, and from their act should we rather argue for the supremacy of the prince, then from his modest refusall for the deny-
[c] *ibid. ca. 13.* ing of it. But it plainly appeareth in the story that he sate as president and moderatour of that councell, [c] *receiuing euery mans opinion, helping sometimes one part, sometimes another: reconciling them when they were contentiously wrangling; gently and curteously talking to euery man, appeasing some, perswading others, praising others till he brought them to a concord and agreement in the faith*; yea and when the
[d] *cap. 22.* Bishops of Egypt afterward grew to contention againe
[e] *cap. 23.* [d] *he interposed himselfe as arbitratour of their controuersies.* Yea and afterwards he *by his letters* is said [e] *to haue prescribed to the Bishops such thinges as belonged to the good of Gods church.* And that M. Bishop may know that Constantine held himselfe the supreme iudge ouer bishops, let him
[f] *Theodoret. hist. lib. 1. ca. 19.* heare Constantine himselfe saying concerning them: *If we haue holy bishops, of right beleefe, and men endued with humanity we shalbe glad; but if any audaciously and vnaduisedly shall grow to the commending of those pestilent heresies, his*
[g] *August. epist. 162.* *insolency shalbe repressed by the execution of Gods seruant, euen by me.* Therefore he accepted of appeales when they were made

made to him [g] *from the Iudgement of the bishops*, and either heard matters himself or appointed those that should heare them. And so we finde that [h] *Felix a bishop by the commandement of the same Emperour* had his cause heard *and was acquited before his proconsull or lieutenant*. And when the Donatists said *that a bishop should not haue his purgation before the lieutenant*, S. Austin answereth, [i] *As if*, saith he, *the bishop himselfe had so taken course for himselfe, and the emperour had not commanded that the matter should be so enquired of, to whose charge (whereof he was to giue account to God) that matter did speciallie belong*. And so doth he send for the bishops that by his commandement were assembled in a councell at Tyrus [k] *to giue account to him of that they had done there, and in his hearing to shew how trulie and syncerely they had caried themselues in their iudgement*. Whereby as by many other like arguments it is manifest to all men that Constantine held himselfe to haue a supremacie ouer bishops and to be iudge of their iudgements, and that M. Bishop seeketh meerely to abuse his most excellent Maiestie in alleaging the example of Constantine against him.

[g] *Aug. ep. 162.*
[h] *Ibid.*
[i] *Ibid.*
[k] *Socrat. hist. lib. 1. ca. 22. Sozomen. lib. 2. ca. 27.*

30 W. Bishop.

If then this right Puissant Emperour, and most syncere Christian, reuerenced the Sacrifice of the Masse, and beleeued that there was power in Priests to remit sins, that Saints were to be praied vnto, and that praier was to be made for the dead, and such like, as appeareth by the euident testimony, of most approued Authours, that liued with him: hath your Maiesty any cause to doubt, but that in matters of faith, he agreed with the present Roman church? Wherefore my hope and trust in Almighty God is, that you in your high wisedome, vpon mature and due consideration, how many old condemned errors the Protestants hold: and withall weighing that the whole frame of their Doctrine tendeth to the disgracing of God, and his Saints, to

Ruffi. lib. 1. hist. cap. 2.

the discouragement of men, from well doing, and doth (as it were loosen the reines vnto all fleshlie libertie: will in time make a most Godly resolution, to imitate that famous Emperour Constantine. *He contrarie to his former education, embraced with all his power that same Romane Religion, which we now professe: And (which is worthie to be obserued) he feared nothing the contrarie disposition of the multitude, or greater part of his subiects, that were wholly led another way. But following the blessed example of his most vertuous Mother S.* Helena, *reposed himselfe in the powerfull assistance of the Almighty, and chased all other Religions into corners, setting vp and firmely establishing the Roman. There can be no cause alleadged, why your Maiesty may not do the like, if it shall please God effectually to stir vp your gratious minde, and to bend your hart to vndertake it: for at that time there was more likelyhood of resistance, then now: and now much more helpe at hand, if any resistance should be offered.*

R. Abbot.

You are an excellent man M. Bishop, at a conclusion. If you could furnish and secure the premisses as you can enhaunce & amplify the conclusion we should be terribly troubled with you. But it is truelie said; *Debile fundamentum fallit opus: a slight foundation makes a falling house:* you might easily haue presumed that his Maiesty is of more sound and setled iudgement then to be moued with such base and beggerly collections. We cannot finde in your allegations either your sacrifice of the Masse, or your Popish power to forgiue sinnes, or any other of the points which either you haue here repeted or before propounded. We heare you say it but we cannot see you proue it, that Constãtine in matter of faith agreed with the present Roman church. Indeed hee neuer knew the faith that is now in Rome: if he were now aliue he would spit in your faces that go about to make him partaker of your new & abhomina-

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ble deuises. And therefore as touching his most excellent Maiesty we doubt not but that finding your forcible reasons to be friuolous & vaine follies, your petitions & supplications to be nothing else but Donatisticall importunities, he will still embrace the truth which he hath receiued, and as he hath hitherto detested your impious and wicked proceedings, so he will detest them more and more, and by all meanes endeuour to keepe his people free from those damnable idolatries and superstitions whereto you labour to entrappe them. In which course his Maiestie hath great cause to allure himselfe of the ready assistance of almighty God, hauing had so good and notable experience thereof in himselfe, and beholding it so cleerely in our late renowmed Queene, whose miraculous preseruation against so many bloudy counsels and attempts of secret and open enemies, and namely of this viperous and serpentine generation of Iesuites and Romish priests, may iustly giue his Maiestie encouragement to doe as shee did, stedfastly to continue in that which by the worde of God hee hath learned vndoubtedly to be the truth of God. Your obiections of heresies and disgracing God and his Saints are cleered before. As touching good life and conuersation, we see not such fruits of your doctrine as that we can thinke you haue any cause to bragge thereof. If there were of vs any such miscreants, such monsters and diuels incarnate, as there haue been of your Popes and Cardinals, his Maiestie would not forbeare to shew himselfe *the seruant or officer of God*, as Constantine called himselfe, to be auenged of such doings. Such Atheists, such dogges there were neuer found in any decourse of men. Machiauell the master of them could say [a] *that there is no where lesse piety or religion than in them that dwell neerest to Rome*, and the common prouerbe imported somewhat, *the neerer the church the further from God.* It is come to that passe with them that the name of a Christian is a word of reproch, and is vsed in the Italian tongue to note [b] *a blockhead*

[a] *Machiauel. disputat. de rep. lib. 1. ca. 12.*

[b] *Hespin. de Orig. Monach. lib. 6. ca. 66.*

blockhead or foole. You say our doctrine tendeth to fleshly liberty, but it is your doctrine of absolutions and pardons that is the verie fountaine of all wickednesse and sinne. Marsilius Patauinus could say of it of old, [b] *that it was a pernicious and brainsicke doctrine*, and *the seducing of soules, such as all Christians should take heed of*, whereby the Germanes complained, [d] *that all piety was abandoned and extinguished with them, whence proceeded whooredomes, incests, adulteries, periuries, murthers, theft, extortion, vsury and all manner euils.* Matthew Paris could say of the time wherein your doctrine bare sway, [e] *He is in these times accounted a very good man that is not starke naught.* As touching our selues we confesse that we are not such as we ought to be, neither doth our thankfulnesse in due sort answer Gods goodnes towards vs, but yet we hope we are farre from being so bad as your owne stories haue reported you to be. Pardon vs, M. Bishop: we stand vpon our reputation in this behalfe. We can neither heare of forren nations, nor see in the best of your Catholickes among vs that there is any cause for you to take vpon you in conuersation to be preferred before vs.

[b] *Marsil. Patauin. defens. pacis. par. 2. ca. 26.*
[d] *Centum grauam. German. art. 3. apud Illyric. in Catal. test. verit.*
[e] *Matth. Paris. in Henr. 3.*

31. W. Bishop.

Pardon me deare Soueraigne, if before I finish this argument, I seeme ouer-bold heere to present vnto your memorie, that all your most gratious and godly Progenitors, and all our holy Predecessors, who now (assuredly) stand before the tribunall of God; doe demaund and expect no lesse at your handes. For they founded not Bishopricks, Deaneries, and other spirituall liuings: they builded not Colleges, and Schooles, for Protestants or their fauourers. Ponder well therefore I beseech your Maiestie, whether they doe not, or may not iustly chalenge of you, (to whom the administration of iustice belongeth,) to see and prouide: that such Churches, Church-liuings, and spirituall rewards of learning, as they erected and bequeathed to Roman

man Bishops, and Priestes, be disposed of, and bestowed according to their erections, and foundations. If it shall please the Protestants to erect any new Churches, or bestow any other reuenues towards their Ministers maintenance, let them haue them hardly, and enioy them quietly: onely let them be content, out of their equitie: to leaue vs that which was prouided for vs, and bequeathed vnto vs by our most Religious Aunce stors.

R. Abbot.

We see what it is, M. Bishop, that you would haue: you plead hard for Bishoprickes and Deanries, and surely you need not doubt but if you can make good that which you haue written, you shall haue what you desire. You say that *all his Maiesties Godly progenitours and holy predecessours doe expect at his hands to establish the Romane religion*; but how come you to know their minde, or where haue you beene to aduise with them of that matter? Surelie if they were asked their aduise for our direction, they would say as Abraham said, [a] *They haue Moses and the prophets; let them heare them.* [b] *They haue a sure word of the prophets and Apostles; let them looke to it as to a candle shining in a darke place.* Yea but you tell vs that Bishoprickes and Deanries, and churches and churchliuings were by them erected and bequeathed to Romane Bishops and Priests, not to Protestants and their fauourers. But you speake partially, M. Bishop, and we cannot beleeue you therein. By historie it appeareth plainly that [c] Austin the blacke Monke at his comming into this Iland neere sixe hundred yeres after the incarnation of Christ found here manie Bishops and Priests and very learned men farre differing from Romish Priests, insomuch that they reiected his traditions which he brought from Rome, detested his pride, renounced his authority and would not accept him for their Archbishop as he desired to be. There were then [d] Abbies a great number in which the flocke of Christ

[a] *Luc.16.29.*
[b] *2. Pet.1.19.*
[c] *Beda hist. eccles. gent. Angl. lib.2.cap.2.*
[d] *Galfrid. Monumetens. lib.8. cap.4. Bale. script. Britannic. lib.1. oper. minor.*

(being indeede of students in Diuinitie) was kept in good order. Amongst others there was at Bangor in Wales a church of a thousand two hundred Monkes, not Popish Monkes and idle belly-gods, but all liuing with the labour of their handes, and bestowing the time of rest from their labours in praier and meditation of the scriptures. Out of this church long before that time went Pelagius the hereticke, whose doctrine of free will then not only the Britons but al Romish priests detested and abhorred, which now is stifflie maintained by Romish Priests. Ouer that church at Austins comming was one Dinochus a very learned man, who when Austin required the bishops to be subiect to his Romish authoritie, perswaded them by diuers arguments that they did not owe him any such subiection. Whereat Austin being offended, prouoked king Ethelbert against them, by whose procurement an armie of Infidels was sent to slaie them, who cruellie and vnmercifully performed the slaughter, not sparing them who in their shirts came foorth to them to intreat mercy. At that time was there one [g] *Daganus* a bishop of Scotland that had beene brought vp in that colledge of Bangor, who also resisted the proceedings of that Romish Archbishop, and would not admit of alteration from those obseruations which from the first receiuing of religion had beene reteined amongst them: Yea comming into England, after the death of Austin, hee refused to eate with [h] Laurentius succeeding in the place of Austin and with Mellitus and Iustus, all of Austins companie and condition, to signifie his detestation of those nouelties and superstitions that were brought in by them. Then it should seeme that our Bishoprickes and spirituall liuings were not first founded for Romish priests, since a Romish priest could haue no entertainment amongst the bishops that were heere before, and by the meanes of that Romish priest so many were martyred for refusing to receiue him. Yea and a long time after the [i] Britons still refused those Romish

[e] *Bale vt supra.*

[f] *Old English Chronicle cited by B. Iewel. defens. of the Apolog. the 5. part. in the beginning.*

[g] *Centur. Magdeburg. 6. cap. 10. ex Beleo.*

[h] *Holinsh. hist. of England.*

[i] *Beda hist. eccles. gent. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 20.*

Romish nouelties, and with them ioined also the churches and bishops of Scotland, as Aidanus, Finianus, Colman and many others, of whom the first Aidanus was a man so renowmed for his learning and pietie, as that Oswald king of Northumberland sent for him to Dorwald king of Scots, and made him a bishop in his countrey. Now although Austen by that that he then brought from Rome did somewhat contaminate the faith of Christ, yet was it nothing to the filth and abhomination that afterwards was brought in; so that the name of a Romish priest is a meere equiuocation betwixt the priests that now are, and those that were then. For then did the kings of this lande still reteine their supremacie in causes ecclesiasticall; they founded bishoprickes and inuested to them at their pleasure, as did [m] Edward the Confessour the bishopricke of Exceter, and himselfe with his Queene inuested to it Leofricus: they made lawes for the order and gouernment of the church, as is to be seene by the lawes of [n] Edward, of Alfred, of Ethelstane, of Canutus and other princes before the conquest, and many lawes also made by princes [o] since the conquest against the vsurpations and intrusions of the Pope. Then were the Scriptures in [p] foure seuerall languages of so many seuerall nations in this Iland, beside the Latine tongue common to them all, thereout to search the knowledge of Gods truth. Then were they in monasteries [q] commaunded to bee exercised in the reading of the Scriptures, and euerie one was required to learne the Lordes praier and the Creed in the English tongue. Then was the Communion ministred to the people in both kindes, so that [r] souldiours going to battaile receiued it in that sort according as from the beginning was accustomed in the church. Then was Transubstantiation altogither vnknowne, and when it began to bee broched or not long after, [s] *Elfricus* then Archbishop of Canterburie, amongst manie Sermons which he translated out of Latin into the Saxon tongue to be

[k] *Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 25.*

[l] *Bal. script. Britan. cent. 1. op. minor.*

[m] *Stowes Annals, in S. Edward.*

[n] *Foxe Acts and Monum. vol. 1. in the end.*

[o] *Reports of Sir Edw. Cooke part 5.*

[p] *Bed. hist. eccles. gent. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 1.*

[q] *Annals of John Stow in Ethelbald.*

[r] *Math. Paris. in Harold. & Will. Rufo.*

[s] *Fox Acts and Monuments ex archiuis eccle. Wigorn. & Exon.*

be read publickely in the church, translated one to be read vpon Easter day, expresly contradicting that new deuise, and consequently ouerthrowing the sacrifice of the masse. Then did [t] the bishops and princes of this land condemne the second Nicene councell as idolatrous and contrary to the true faith for teaching the worshipping of images; hauing receiued the booke of that councell sent vnto them from Charles the great, and writing to the same Charles an epistle substantially grounded out of the authoritie of holy scripture in reproofe thereof. Then were tithes and oblations giuen to married Priests and so continued till the time of Hildebrand, [u] *who by an example new and straung* and contrary to the expresse canon of the [x] councell of Gangra, *did remooue them from doing diuine seruice, whence grew greater scandall then euer grew by any heresie in the church.* Yea and our most auncient cathedrall churches were places for maried Priests, not for Popish filthie Votaries, as by the auncient recordes of diuers of them and namely of the church of Worcester appeareth vntill this day. It was king [y] Edgar that first expulsed them almost a thousand yeeres after Christ, and that against the will of his nobles and commons, when they [z] iustly pleaded for themselues that being the auncient possessours, they could not without wrong be ejected from that they had so long holden, and therefore were by [a] *Alferus* a Duke of the Mercians and other nobles and great men againe restored to their former places. It is plaine then that the most auncient foundations and donations were intended to vs, M. Bishop, and not to you, and therefore that we haue not therein vsurped any thing of yours, but recouered the possession of our owne. As for latter erections they haue beene of two sorts; some hauing respected in them a benefite to themselues; others aiming at the benefite of church and common wealth. Men were growen to the opinion that the building and indowing of religious houses should be the redemption of their sinnes,

[t] *Roger Houed. continuat. Bedæ part. 1. anno 792.*

[u] *Math. Paris. in Will. Conqueſt.*

[x] *Concil. Gangr. can. 4.*

[y] *Bale. script. Britan. Cent. 2. in Edgaro.*

[z] *Foxe Acts and Monum. ex Guilielm. de regib. lib. 2.*

[a] *Idem ex hist. Iornalenſi.*

sinnes, and the purchase of their soules health. By reason whereof they became madde in giuing, and as out of his experience the diuell could say, [b] *skinne for skinne, and all that a man hath will he giue for his life*, and as God himselfe hath recorded the humor of men to be, [c] *to giue his first borne for his transgression, euen the fruite of his body for the sinne of his soule*, so it befell here that men burdened with their sinnes and distressed in conscience, and wanting the sight of the *sunne of righteousnesse* to giue them the light of true comfort did spare no cost, though to the wrong of their children and posterity, to light vnto themselues this wasting candle of false and deluding hope. Now because these foundations tended directly to the dishonour of Iesus Christ and to the empeachment of his glorious redemption, and [d] *comming from the wages of a harlot did returne againe to harlots wages* being employed to the nourishment and practise of vncleane and filthie life, therefore the hand of God and his iudgement was vpon them and they were destroied with the destruction of Babel vtterlie to fall and neuer to rise againe. Other donations and erections there were, which although they were intangled with the superstition of those times, yet in their true and proper end were referred to the aduauncement of learning for the good of church and common wealth. Some men preferred to high place finding the want of learning to be a maime to themselues, were mooued thereby to seeke the supply thereof in others. Other some without doubt were greatly offended to see the horrible decay of learning in monasteries and houses of religion which were woont to be the schooles and nourseries thereof. For after the comming in of the swarmes of locustes, that Romish vermine of [e] *begging friars*, all good artes and literature were abolished, the skie was euen darke with the foggy mistes of barbarous ignorance, and it came to passe that it was taken vp for a common prouerbe, *Monacho indoctior; more vnlearned then a monke*. Wherefore God determi-

[b] *Iob. 2. 4.*

[c] *Mich. 6. 7.*

[d] *Mich. 1. 7.*

[e] *Hospinian. de orig. Monach. lib. 6. ca. 18.*

ning the ruine and ouerthrow of that Sodome and Gomorrah raised vp the spirits of some by whom he would prouide better for the building of his church. And hence arose those noble foundations of our Schooles and Vniuersities, not intended for Romish Priests, but for learned men to serue the state in all occasions of employment, which by whomsoeuer they were builded are more truly put to their vse by vs then they were by others that haue beene before vs; our Colledges also being brought in latter times by their abuse to meere sophistry and barbaritie, to studies of Necromancy and wicked arts: to the reading of the Master of the Sentences in steede of reading the holy scriptures, and the true vse of learning seldome to be found. Now if withall any thing hath come to vs which was directly intended to the maintenance of Romish idolatry and superstition, we take the same as the spoile of Egypt wherewith to build and furnish the Tabernacle of the Lord: and as you, M. Bishop, in your apostasie vsurped those donations that were first meant to vs and our religion; so giue vs leaue by the gift of our God iustly to inioie that that by the meaning of the founders was purposed to you. Which our Princes by their lawes assigning to vs haue done as Christian Emperours of old did, who in like sort [f] *did passe to the true catholicke church the churches and reuennes* that were founded and giuen by Donatistes to heresie and schisme. And as the church at first did which entering vpon the temples and possessions of heathen idolaters conuerted the same to the seruice of the true God, neither did they thinke it a sufficient reason to relinquish the same to the maintenance of idolatry because they were at first intended to that vse. And surely in these magnifical deuotions the Papistes can challenge no more to themselues then of old the heathens might, who builded infinite [g] stately temples and altars, and bedecked with [h] gold and siluer the idols and images of their Gods, and performed their idolatrous [i] solemnities

[f] *August. epist. 50.*

[g] *Arnob. adu. gent. lib. 3.*
[h] *Ierem. 10. 4. Baruch. 6. 3. 9.*
[i] *Tertull. de baptismo.*

nities with great preparation and cost, and * offered large and continuall offerings, and endowed their priests with [k] lands and possessions, the glory whereof made them despise the basenes as they tooke it of Christian religion, and they vpbraided them to be [l] *Fruitles men*, men that did no good, because they saw no such matters to proceed from them, Tertullian answering, [m] *Plus insumit misericordia nostra vicatim quàm vestra religio templatim*; *Our mercy bestoweth more in the streetes then your religion doth in your temples*. Yea and at this day they say that the Turkes cease not to bestirre themselues in building of religious houses for their Monkes and Priests to performe such superstitions as their wicked Mahomet hath directed them, being perswaded by him that by such merits they must atteine to heauen. In all ages indeed it hath beene found true which S. Ambrose saith : [n] *Ad sacrilegium perfidi largiores quàm ad salutem fidèles sunt : Misbeleeuers are more ful of largesse to sacriledge and idolatry then are the faithfull to those things that concerne saluation*, because as men naturally doe more regard their owne children then strangers, so are they naturally more strongly possessed with humane deuises as their owne, then those things which are of God, which are so much the more strange by how much the more of natures corruption doth still remaine. Now therefore on the one side the largesse of Popery to the vse of their religion is no argumēt of the truth therof, because Turkes and heathens doe the same : and on the other side as if Constantinople were brought vnder the iurisdiction of the Pope he would not thinke it reason that those things which were consecrate to Turkish superstition should therefore remaine still to the same vse; so no reason is it that those things which were first intended to Popish idolatrie amongst vs should for that cause be still continued to the maintenance thereof. Iustifie your religion to be of God, and we are ready to yeeld vnto you the mastership and rule of all. But that you cannot doe,

* *Tertul. Apol. cap.* 42.

[k] *Gen.* 47. 22.

[l] *Tertul. Apolog. cap.* 42.

[m] *ibid.*

[n] *Ambros. de S. sancto. lib.* 3. *cap.* 18.

and therefore we say as Israel said of old to the king of Ammon : ° *Wouldest not thou possesse that which Chemosh they God giueth thee to possesse ? so whomsoeuer the Lord our God drieueth out before vs them will we possesse.*

° Iudg. 11.24.

32. W. Bishop.

If all these reasons, and exceeding many other which might be mustered, and produced to the same purpose, will not suffice to effect in your Maiestie, a loue and desire, to embrace that auncient Roman faith, which all your renowmed Progenitors, so highly reuerenced, loued, and esteemed. Yet let me (prostrate on my knee) most humbly beseech your Highnesse, in the name of thousandes: that so farre forth they may preuaile with you, as you will not permit those rigorous lawes, framed against Recusant Catholickes, to be put in practize and executed. For how can it seeme conformable to reason, in your Maiesties deepe wisedome, and iudgement? that your louing Subiects should by compulsion and constraint, vnder that intollerable penaltie of losse of all their goodes, conforme themselues to such articles of Religion, that by the purest antiquitie were censured to be erronious and execrable ? And what miserie, and pittie were it, to driue them perforce, either to swallow downe the deadly poison of their soules, or else to endure besides the disgrece of the state, the losse of their worldly wealth and liberty? Consider and weigh with your selfe, my most gratious Liege, whether it will not be thought ouer great seueritie, to presse men (euen against humane nature and condition,) with patience to heare their owne profession and beleefe, both vntruely slaundered, and most butterly reuiled and inueighed against: as in most Ministers sermons it is commonly. Yea to giue patient eare to them that blush not publickely, to call our blessed Sauiours body in the holy Sacrament, *an abhominable Idole; his glorious and immortall Saints, senseless dead Men; his Vicar and Vicegerent on earth* Antichrist, *and euery Catholicke an Idolater. With infinite other intollerable reproches;*

Our

Our constant hope, euen yet, (though against hope) is, that your Maiestie out of your owne sweet naturall disposition, and most milde carriage in gouernment hitherto, will not onely moderate, but suspend all such extreamitie: And not suffer it to be extended against them, who in former doubtfull times, were (in manner) the onely men, that defended and made manifest to the world, your Title and interest to the Crowne of Englaud; and were no lesse willing to receiue you, when the time came: and as forward to haue assisted you (if neede had required) as any sort of Subiects within the land. And neuer since wittingly offended your sacred Maiestie in any thing. It may be obiected that they doe not conforme themselues vnto a statute law made against their religion: Be it so. Then their Religion toward God, not any contempt of their lawfull Superiour, doth commaund them from the conformitie, which is pardonable. Considering that they be no inuenters, or followers of nouelties, but onely hold on and perseuere in the faith of their forefathers. And what subiect is there among the most dutifull, that doth not often transgresse and giue offence to one statute law or other: yet for no other law, men are so hardly dealt withall, albeit they violate many of them togither. Onely Catholikes are for the transgressing of one, huspeled and handled as though they were some heynous rebels, and traytors: Who (be it spoken without disparagement to others) are (by them that liue neere them) esteemed commonly, the most orderly subiects; as true of their wordes, as sound in their deedes, of as great charity and hospitalitie towards their neighbours, and compassion of the poore: briefly, of as moderate and ciuill carriage and behauiour, as most men in their Country: So that to begger and vndoe them (as the execution of that law established, must needs do the poorer sort of them,) would be little lesse then to vndoe and destroy all good order, and Discipline in the common-weale.

R. Abbot.

You muster often, M. Bishop, but by all your muster-

ing you can not leuie a strong armie. Your souldiours are dwarfes to fight with Pygmees and not with men, and therefore no maruell if you neuer gaine the field. You seeme strong to children and fooles, but men of vnderstanding can see that your strongest swordes are but reeds, and your best armour but like Adams fig-tree leaues. You call those *rigorous lawes that are framed against recusant Catholickes*, but therein you play the part of a lewd hypocrite. For are our lawes rigorous against you for mulct of goods, when your lawes proceed against vs to the shedding of our bloud? You demaund how it should *seeme conformable to reason, that his Maiesties subiects should by compulsion and constraint conforme themselues to such articles of religion as by the purest antiquity were censured to be erroneous and execrable?* But I demaund of you how those his Maiesties subiects of whom you speake doe know that the articles to which they are required to conforme themselues are by the purest antiquitie cēsured to be erroneous & execrable? Are they conuersant in the reading of antiquities? doe they peruse the writings of the fathers and the stories of the auncient church? Nothing lesse: they conceiue nothing but only as you informe them, and you gull them with your lies; with goodly wordes you seduce and beguile them: you tell them tales of the moone-shine in the mustard-pot, and to keepe them in the beleefe thereof you vse an art to frame them to this principle that they must reade nothing that is written by vs for discouery of your villanie and falsehood. You know well inough that if they vse their liberty to read our bookes, your cake will soone prooue dough, and you shalbe found to be cozening and false harlots; but they are content in their seelinesse to goe [a] *like fooles to the stocks*, they know not whither, and vpon your worde to receiue that whereof they know nothing whether it be right or wronge. But how doth it appeare that the Articles of religion whereto they are required to conforme themselues are so censured by the

[a] *Prou. 7. 22.*

the purest antiquitie to be erroneous and execrable? We are taught that [b] *the houshold of God are builded vpon the foundations of the Apostles and prophets*, (that is, [c] *the new and old testament*) *Iesus Christ himselfe being the head corner stone.* This is the purest antiquitie, and of this antiquity Cyprian saith: [d] *If Christ only be to be heard then are wee not to listen what any man before vs hath thought fitt to be done, but what Christ hath done who is before all: For we are not to follow the custome of men but the truth of God.* Doe you finde then that Christ by his Prophets and Apostles in the old or new testament hath censured those articles whereto they are required to conforme themselues to be erroneous and execrable? They are required to come to the church where we call vpon one God in the name of Iesus Christ; we read only the scriptures and worde of God; we administer the sacraments according to the very tenure and letter of the Gospell, and are these the things that are censured to be erroneous and execrable? Peter and Paul were the first auncient founders of the Romane church; they are a part of the purest antiquity; shew vs, M. Bishop, what article there is in our diuine seruice that Peter and Paul haue censured to be erroneous and execrable? The antiquity that followed is not the *purest antiquity*, for you your selues say that you are faine [e] to *beare with many errours in the auntient Catholicke writers*, and yet what is there in our seruice which any one of them hath censured to be erroneous and execrable? You are they, M. Bishop, that iustly deserue the rigour of the law who deale thus traiterously with his Maiestie and treacherously with his subiects to perswade them that those things by the purest antiquitie are censured to be erroneous and execrable which indeede are framed to the true patterne and example of the purest antiquity in the seruice of the church. Now whereas you say that hereby they are driuen *to swallow downe the deadly poison of their soules*, I cannot better answere you then by the wordes of the Prophet,

[b] *Eph.* 2. 20.

[c] *Ambros. in Eph. ca.* 2.

[d] *Cyprian. lib.* 2. *epist* 3.

[e] *Index expurgat. in castigat. Bertram.*

[f] *Esa. 5. 20.*

phet, [f] *Wo vnto them that call good euill and euill good. &c.* It is not deadly poison which we deliuer expressly and only by the word of God, but that is deadly poison which you haue drawen from the filthy lakes and puddles of the deuise of man. But you alleage that it is *ouergreat seueritie to presse men, euen against humane nature and condition with patience to heare their own profession and beleefe both vntruly slaundered and most bitterly reuiled and inueighed against.* But is that an argument for you in England which is no argument for vs in Italy and Spaine? Is it an argument for you with vs in the time of King Iames, which was no argument for vs with you in the time of Queene Marie? Was it not against humane nature and condition to presse vs to here our profession and beleefe vntruely slandered or else to lose our liues, and is it against humane nature and condition to presse you to heare your profession and beleefe inueighed against, and for default to endure onely a penaltie of your goods? But your argument vnlesse you had better props for your profession will not serue your turne. Franticke men must not goe at libertie, because it offendeth them to be bounde. The maladies of children must not be neglected and let alone, because it is greeuous to them to endure the cure. Iustly are men to be forced to heare the discouerie of your profession, that they may vnderstand the wickednesse and abhomination therof. And whereas you say that the same is *vntruely slaundered by our ministers*, you say vntruely therein. For there is not one Minister amongst vs, who in his sermons doth so throughly lay foorth the villanie and wickednesse of your profession as in trueth the cause and matter thereof doth require. You giue vs instance of some of your greeuances that we *call our blessed Sauiours body in the Sacrament an abhominable Idoll*; but we call not the body of Christ an abhominable idoll; we call that an abhominable idol which you falsly terme the bodie of Christ, and vnder that pretence fall downe before it and worship it, and call it your

Lord

Lord and God. We say as the Apostle hath taught vs, and antiquitie hath receiued that the Sacrament is in substance [i] *bread*, and onely [k] *in name and power and after* [l] *a certaine manner is accounted the body of Christ*, [m] *not the very bodie, but a mysterie of his body*, though such a mysterie as doth truely exhibite the body of Christ to be spiritually receiued of vs by faith in him. Now when you worship the Sacrament it selfe as being very Christ himselfe, and call the same your Lord and your God, what doe you but make a God of a peece of bread, and vnder the name of the bodie of Christ, set vp an idoll in the church? your second greeuance that we call *the glorious and immortall Saints dead men*, is answered before. Your senselesse addition is your owne exaggeration: we vse no other termes of dead Saints then occasion requireth to challenge due honour to the immortall God. Their images indeed which you worship in their steed, we iustly call senseleſſe blockes, and highly condemne your stupiditie and senselesnesse in doing religious duetie and seruice vnto them. Againe, you are offended that we call *Christes vicar and vicegerent on earth Antichrist*. Indeed we call the Pope Antichrist, and doe affirme him therfore so to be, because he hath taken vpon him to be Christes vicar and vicegerent vpon earth, and heerein doth your singular impudencie and obstinacie appeare, that you will giue him that title which neuer anie prophet or Apostle, neuer any auncient Father, or Councell, or storie either in name or in nature, either in worde or in meaning hath attributed vnto him. We haue heard before how Eleutherius bishop of Rome, acknowledged the title of *Gods vicegerent* to be the title of the prince, and therefore he condemneth you of disloialtie that will transferre the iust title of your prince to an vniustly vsurping forreine Priest. But that the Pope is Antichrist euen that great Antichrist that was [n] foretold of by Saint Paul and S. Iohn, I haue vndertaken to defend. The [k] booke is abroad; let you and me ioine vpon that issue; vntill you

[i] 1. Cor 10. 26. & 11. 26.
Euseb. hist. eccles. hist. l. 6. c. 42.
[l] Cypr. de vnct. Christi.
[m] Aug. ep. 23.
[n] Chrysost. ep. imperfect. hom. 11.
[k] *Antichristi demonstratio cent. fabul. Pontific. &c.*

disproove our proofes, you must giue vs leaue still to say that the Pope is Antichrist, and that you in seruing him doe make your selues vassals and slaues to the man of sin. For that matter I say content your selfe that we call a spade a spade: all the water in Tiber will not wash the Pope from that blot, as afterwards also shall in some part appeere in examining the entrance of your booke. Lastlie, you are grieued that we call *euerie Catholicke an idolater*, and indeed we call your Catacatholickes idolaters, we call euerie Papist an idolater, and that iustly vpon good warrant. For it [l] *consecration of images* be *idolatrie*, what is euery Papist but an idolater that consecrateth images and vseth them consecrated to worship them? What is he but an idolater that boweth to the [m] *stocke of a tree*, and [n] *worshippeth the worke of his owne handes, which his owne fingers haue made*, whereof it is truely said, [o] *They haue eies and see not, eares haue they and heare not*, &c? Thus the Scripture describeth idolatrie: this euery Papist doth, and therfore euery Papist doth that which the Scripture pronounceth to be idolatrie. And why doth this so much trouble you, M. Bishop, seeing [p] Gregorie de Valentia freely confesseth, that you all commit idolatry, and therefore must necessarily be holden to be *idolaters*; onely by a new paradoxe he will perswade vs that all idolatrie is not forbidden by the word of God. But your shame is apparent in this matter, and lieth open to all eies that will not refuse to see. This is one of those grosse abhominations wherein he that cannot or wil not take knowledge of your apostasie, sheweth himselfe either to be a very blinde or a very wilfull man, and no reason is there that you should hope that his Maiestie will suffer his subiects freely to *be thus* [q] *led by you to dumbe idols to doe there seruice*, and by them to goe a *whooring* from the true God.

[l] *Tertul. de Idolol.*

[m] *Esa 44.19.*
[n] *Cap.2.8.*
[o] *Psal.115. 5.6.*

[p] *Greg. de Valent. lib.2. Apologet. de idolatria.ca 7.*

[q] *1.Cor.12.2.*

Yet you pleade further for fauour in that *you in former doubtfull times were in manner the only men that defended and made knowen to the world his Maiesties Title and interest to the Crowne*

Crowne of England. Which if you speake of your selfe you haue your answere before. If you extend it generally to Recusants you know well enough that you say vntruelie. For the Recusants generally were so Iesuited as that you seculars were brought almost to leape at a cruft, and greatly distressed for want of necessarie succour and relieſe. And which way the Iesuites looked it is knowen well enough, and hath beene sufficiently discouered both by you and by themselues. And therefore if the Recusant Papistes had had their will, a Iesuited Queene, not a Protestant King, must haue had the wearing of the crowne. How willing you were to receiue his Maiesty appeared by the attendance that so many of you gaue him at his comming in, riding disguised that you might not be knowen, which to what purpose it was soone after was seene by your companions Watson and Clerke, whom onely to name is sufficient for answer to these *Crocodiles teares*, wherewith you seeke to gaine fauour at his Maiesties hands by falselie pretending loyaltie and loue vnto him. But much more shall the remembrance of your lately intended mischiefe giue full assurance to his Maiestie that there is no fidelitie, nothing but treacherie and villanie to be found amongst you. You would, you say, *haue beene as ready to haue assisted his Maiesty, if need had required, as any sort of subiects in the land.* But blessed be God that his Maiesty had no need of any of your assistance. Bellarmine hath discouered it for a principle of yours [1] *that you ought not to tolerate a misbeleeuing king*, such as you take his Maiesty to be, & therefore if he had relied vpon your assistance either he must haue daunced after your pipe or else haue leaped without the crowne. It was not his Maiesties right that you respected; it was onely the seruing of your owne turne. You say that *you haue not since offended his Maiesty in any thing*; but that is not true. You and your fellowes offend his Maiesty dayly in the highest degree in seeking to inuegle his subiects and to draw them to the admiring and admitting of a for-

[1] *Bellarm. de Rom. Pontif. lib. 5. cap. 7.*

ren iurisdiction and they offend his Maiestie in like sort in being content to be inueighled and seduced by you. *It may be obiected*, say you, *that they doe not conforme themselues, to a statute law made against their religion*; but we obiect that they deny true seruice to God and conformity to his lawes: to which [r] Princes are on Gods behalfe by laws and statutes to compell them. Yet heereby you qualifie their offence *as pardonable for that their religion towards God, not any contempt of their lawfull superiour doth command them from the conformity*. As if all Iewes, and Turkes, and Pagans and hereticks could not plead that exception for themselues as well as you. When Constantine by his edicts and statutes did set vp Christs true religion and did driue all other religions into corners as you saide before, decreeing very sharply [t] *against the sacrifices of Pagans vpon paine of death*, against wilfull hereticks and schismatickes *vpon confiscation of their goods*, had it beene a sufficient defence for refractarie persons to say that their religion towards God, not any contempt of their lawfull superiour did command them from conformity to his lawes? If it were no answer then, we must likewise conceiue now that it is a contempt of their Prince that the regard of his lawes doth not draw them duely to examine the religion which they professe that they may see the filthinesse and abhomination thereof and how iustly it is to be detested and abhorred. For it is their vsuall manner to vndertake that religion hand ouer head, and scarse is there one of a thousand amongst them that is able to giue any reason why he beleeueth so rather then otherwise. Which shalbe your iust condemnation with God, M. Bishop, that doe condemne men for being [u] *blinde-obedient* in a cause against you, and doe teach them to be *blinde-obedient* to you in a cause against God. But you alleadge further for their excuse *that they be no inuentors or followers of nouelties but only hold on and perseuere in the faith of their forefathers*. And that could the Pagans and heathens alleadge for themselues also, that they

[r] *Aug. ep. 50.*

[t] *Aug. ep 48.*

[u] *Reply to the Iesuits Apology.*

they were no inuentours or followers of nouelties, but that their fathers and forefathers for hundreds and thousands of yeeres had continued the same superstitions. So may adulterers and whooremongers, drunkards, theeues and other malefactors excuse themselues that they are not the first inuentours of those sinnes, but that their fathers and forefathers were the same, and that these behauiours haue beene accustomed since the world began. But compulsion of lawes must driue them to come where they may be taught, that whereas without question many of them say with themselues as did the Donatistes, [u] *It is true indeed that you say, we cannot tell what to answer, but it is hard for vs to leaue the tradition of our fathers,* they may be shaken from that heauie drowsinesse that holdeth them and may learne to giue glory vnto God and say with the Gentiles, [x] *surely our fathers haue inherited lies and vanity wherein there is no profit:* and may heare God saying vnto his people: [y] *Walke ye not in the ordinances of your fathers, neither obserue their manners, nor defile your selues with their Idols: I am the Lord your God; walke ye in my statutes and keepe my iudgements and doe them*; and againe calling them out of Babylon, [z] *Goe out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers in her sins, and that ye receiue not of her plagues.* But where you say that the things which they follow are *no nouelties*, you say vntruely. For your Iesus Psalter and Ladies Psalter which commonly you put into their hands what are they but nouelties? your Agnus deies, your hallowed beads & grails, your pardons, your dispensations, your reconciling to the bishop of Rome, your babies and puppets, and other such like witcheries & sorceries what are they but nouelties? let vs see the practise of any of this trumpery in the ancient church. But indeed there is no shadow therof: they are new deuises of Antichrist, & the baits of his spirituall fornications to inchaunt and intoxicate simple and vnstable soules. You go forward and tell vs that amongst *the most duetifull there is none but offendeth aginst one statute or other, yet only*

[u] *August. epist. 48.*

[x] *Ier. 16. 19.*

[y] *Ezech. 20. 18.*

[z] *Apoc. 18. 4.*

Catholickes are for the transgressing of one huspeled and handled as though they were some hainous rebelles and traitours. Ah tender chickens how you are huspeled and handled! how would you complaine, I trow, if we practised that which God hath said vnto vs; [a] *Reward her euen as shee hath rewarded you, and giue her double according to her workes, and in the cup which shee hath filled to you, fill her the double?* But other lawes and statutes are looked vnto as the cause requireth and transgressours receiue due punishment according to desert: but lawes for religion as they are of higher nature and greater consequence, so should more straightly & seuerely be put in execution for challenging due honour vnto God, and for the welfare and safety of the publicke state. Where indeed the default is that lawes are not so throughly and effectually pursued against you as cause is they should be. For howsoeuer you cleere the matter with *as though they were some hainous rebels and traitours*, the very truth is that in making men Papistes you make them either actually traitours, or if not actually because they know not yet the secret of your occupation, yet *in Potentia proxima* to be wrought vpon for any traiterous executions. For the fundamentall points of your religion are meerly treason, that the Pope is [b] *Gods vicegerent vpon earth*, and therefore superiour to your Prince: that it is in the [c] Popes power to depose his Maiestie and depriue him of his crowne: that he may [d] absolue his subiects from their oth of allegeance to him; that [d] at his commaundement they are to take armes against him; that [e] Catholickes ought not to tolerate a misbeleeuing King, as they account euerie one that beleeueth not with them: that [f] where their religion is in hazard, no faith or fidelity is to be performed. Which positions of yours doe very well deserue that all seuerity of lawes should be vsed to preserue his Maiesties subiects from being infected with the venime and poison thereof. And I doubt not but that his Maiesty doth now very well see and

[a] *Apoc. 18. 6.*

[b] *Decretal. Greg. de transl. episc. ca. Quanto.*

[c] *Sext. de sentent. & re iudicata. cap. Ad Apostolicæ. Bulla Pij 5. cont. Elizabeth. regin.*

[d] *Ibid.*

[e] *Bellarm. de Rom. Pontif. li. 5. cap. 7.*

[f] *Matth. Paris. in Henric. 2.*

conceiue

conceiue that it is very necessary that by due execution thereof your wicked enterprises be more strongly crossed and hindered then hitherto they haue beene. You commend your Recusants as *esteemed by them that liue neere them the most orderly subiects.* What? and none so orderly as they? We see the prouerbe to be true:

Quisquis amat ranam, ranam putat esse Dianam:
Who loues the frog in filthy dike
He thinkes the frog Diana-like.

You tell vs that *they are as true of their words, as sound in their deeds, of as great charity and hospitality towards their neighbours, and compassion of the poore; of as moderate and ciuill cariage and behauiour as most men in their countrie.* And indeede it is true that many of them are fitter for vs then they are for you, and we are sorrie that they cannot be gotten to awake out of their sleepe and to wipe away that needles disgrace which by their owne wilfulnesse doth hang vpon them. But there are many more of them who are fitter for you then they are for vs, men that had neede to liue vnder a shriuinge and pardoning religion, being notorious for grosse and absurd sinnes, whooremongers, drunkardes, swearers, full of bitinge and cruelty, of falsehood and villanie, farre from any such commendation as you giue them, and yet these forsooth are they who in their ioylitie at their tables and vpon their alebenches talke of iustification by workes, and of comming to heauen by merites and crie out vpon the Protestant doctrine as opening a way to licentious and euill life. We know them, M. Bishop, as well as you; and we know there is no cause at all to giue them any such commendation of behauiour aboue other sorts of men. Your conclusion is, that to *begger and vndoe them (as the execution of that law established must needes doe the poorer sort of them) would be little lesse then to vndoe and destroy all good order and discipline in the common-weale.* Where we see you speake for a fee and therefore sticke not to speake at large. But you must

vnderstand

vnderstand that the good order and discipline of the common weale might stand well enough without them. Though they were, where their hearts are, vnder the Popes protection, yet we could haue good order and discipline in our common-weale, and so much the better by how much the more it should be freed from being disturbed by them. As for beggering & vndoing them, it is not the law that doth it, but they begger & vndoo themselues by their owne blind wilfulnes, in that they doe not subiect themselues to the law when notwithstanding they can giue no good reason why they should be against the law. And if they were beggered and vndone as touching their bodily goods it were the better for the common-wealth and for themselues, because thereby they should be freed frō such copesmats as you are who nouzle them in their disobedience to God and to their princes law; who vse your witts to craue for them immunity of mulct and paiment to the Prince that they may haue their estate free to bestow the more liberally vpon you: who like the [s] Donatistes would not haue them to loose their goods, and would haue them at liberty to loose Christ: who would haue their wils and testaments made good by the lawes of the realme, and them suffered to disanull the will and testament of Christ: who would haue protection for them to enioy what they buie, and would haue Christ to haue no protection to hold them whom he hath bought; who would haue them quietly to liue at their owne home, and in the meane time freely permitted to banish Christ. The execution of the law is iust and godly, and by what arguments [h] S. Austin defended the like of old against Pelagians and Donatists and other heretickes, by the same doe we defend it as necessarie against you.

[s] *Aug. ep. 61.*

[h] *Aug. ep. 48. 50 60. 61. & cont. lit. Petil. lib. 2 c. 68. 83. cont. Iulian. Pelag. lib. 3. ca. 1.*

33 W. Bishop.

Before I make an end, I beseech your Maiestie, that the old woorthy saying of Cassian *may be diligently examined:* Cui bonum?

bonum? *For whose commoditie, to what end and purpose must such numbers of most ciuil subiects, be so grieuously molested? What is the cause, why your peaceable & ioyfull gouernment should be so mingled with such bitter stormes of persecution? Is it to extinguish the Catholicke faith? It lieth not in mans power to suppresse and destroy that, which the Almightie supporteth and maintaineth.* The gates of hell shall not pre- *Matth.16.* uaile against the Catholicke Church. *And let but those graue and wise Counsailers, (who haue managed the state in our late Queenes daies) enforme your Maiestie whether all those terrible persecutions that then were most vehemently pursued, did any whit at all, diminish the number of Recusants: or rather did not greatly multiply and encrease them, from one at the first to an hundred and moe in continuance. But it may be, they entend by those penall lawes, to enrich your Maiestie, and to fill your coffers: Surely the receits will fall out much too short, to grow to any such reckoning. And what delight to enrich your treasurie, and stuffe your coffers with regrets, and outcries of the husband, wife, children, widowes, and poore infants, when as the best and most assured treasurie of a king, is (by the prudent esteemed) to consist in the loue, and heartie affection of his people? Or are these penall lawes, and forfaitures ordained for rewards vnto such dependents, as for these or the like doe follow you? But the reuennes, preferments, and offices, belonging to your crowne of England, are abundantly able to content and reward them, that shall deserue well of the common-weale, without that so heauie aggrieuance & hartbleeding of others your Maiesties good subiectes. And your Maiesties high wisedome, and long experience in gouernment, can best remember you, that such men are not so mindefull of benefits receiued, as the daily want and miserie, will continually renue and reuiue the memorie of the oppressed.*

R. Abbot.

The end and purpose of the law, M. Bishop, is easily

answered out of your owne wordes. It is of ciuill subiects to make religious, that his Maiestie may haue them his, not by halfes but wholly; not outwardly onely by constreined and forced obedience, but inwardly for conscience sake; which there is no hope to atteine so long as securely they rest tied in conscience to the forreine iurisdiction of the Pope, who according to the pretie embleme that he hath beene woont to set vpon his mammetries, *fili da mihi cor tuum & sufficit, sonne giue me thy heart and it sufficeth*, laboureth, *rebus sic stantibus*, to possesse the hart til opportunitie serue that he may gaine the whole. But you question the matter, *Is it to extinguish the Catholicke fauh?* No, no, M. Bishop: it is to extinguish your *Cacolike* and *countercatholicke* fancies. Indeed it lieth not in mans power to destroy the true Catholicke faith; the almightie supporteth and mainteineth it; [a] *the gates of hell shall not preuaile against it.* Your Pseudocatholicke apostasie seemed indeed to haue gotten the masterie of it, and to haue set you vp a kingdome for euer; but when you thought for euer to haue imprisoned the *Arke of God*, your *Dagon* fell downe before it, and brake his necke: the Angell sodainly cried from heauen, the lightning of the Gospell shining round about him, [b] *It is fallen, it is fallen, euen Babylon the great citie.* The captiuitie of the church was dissolued, the professours of Christes Gospell were multiplied from one to a thousand, and from a thousand to ten thousand, and from ten thousand to whole nations and peoples, so against all expectation, as that Iannes and Iambres and the rest of the Egyptian sorcerers, haue been forced to say in their harts, [c] *It is the finger of God; the Lord fighteth for Israel against vs*, euen as one of the Spanish captiues could say of the battell fought by sea at their attempted inuasion, that Christ in all that battell shewed himselfe a Lutherane. By this meanes the [d] *whoore of Babylon* that saied to herselfe, *I sit like a Queene, and am no widdow, and shall see no mourning*, is become euen [e] *desolate and naked*

[a] *Matt.16.18.*

[b] *Apoc.18.2.*

[c] *Exod.8.19.* *cap 14.25.*

[d] *Apoc.18.7.*

[e] *Cap.17.16.*

ked in comparison of that shee was, and her desolations shall grow more and more till he that hath begun [f] to *consume her with the breath of his mouth, doe abolish her vtterly with the brightnesse of his comming.* Flatter not your selfe, M. Bishop; [g] *all they that forsake the Lord shall perish; the Lord will destroy all them that commit fornication against him.*

[f] 2. Thess. 2. 8.

[g] Psal. 73. 26.

But you wish his Maiestie to *be informed by those graue and wise Councelours who managed the state in our late Queenes daies whether all those terrible persecutions that then were most vehemently pursued did any whit at all diminish the number of recusants, or rather did not greatly multiply and increase them from one at the first to a hundred and more in continuance. O terrible persecutions* and most vehemently pursued, and yet by your [h] owne confession not a man of you put to death but for cause of treason against the Queene and the state. Which confession the prouidence of God and his hand wrought from you by a bone cast betwixt the Iesuites and you for the clearing and iustifying of the proceedings of the state, taking no course in meere case of religion but that which S. Austin acknowledgeth to be [i] *the obseruing of Christian lenity and meekenesse*, not to punish recusants by death but *by pecuniary mulct and by restraint or banishment of them by whom* others were hardned in that course. We would haue thought the same to be Christian lenitie and gentlenesse in the time of Queene Marie when nothing but life and bloud would giue contentment, and this wretched hypocrite hauing sold his tongue and his conscience to the Pope is not ashamed to call it *terrible persecution.* And yet in the execution of the law they that paied the mulct, so farre enioied the benefit and liberty of the state as that they thriued in the payment of it, and could finde enough besides to giue harbour and entertainment to night-walking traitours that were still plotting both against the possession of the Queene that then was, and the succession of his Maiestie that now is, which no Prince without admirable patience could euer

[h] Watson Quodlibet.

[i] Aug. ep. 50.

haue endured. Many of them by waies and wiles slipt themselues out of the collar, and paid nothing at all, and being winked at, did euen deride the remisse and fauourable proceedings of the realme, in that they could make the lawes like spiders webs to take no hold of them. Many of them vsed their liberty altogether, and found no checke or controlement of law at all. Yea and you that were in durance liued at your harts ease; you were fat and fresh and faire, your friday-nights drinkings were better then the Sunday dinners of many better men then you are: there was too free accesse and resort to you; you could question one another for shrewd and suspicious behauiours: you could twit one another with gallantie and brauerie of apparell: you had harts to contend one with another like tigers and beares, and yet like the filthy full-gorged friar you crie out; *Ecce nos quanta patimur pro Christo; see how we are persecuted for Christs sake.* Ah vnthankefull caytifes that thus abuse the goodnes of Princes to the euill of their subiects, and whilest they permit safety and quietnesse to you, doe labour night and day to procure ruine and ouerthrow to them. And yet those honourable Counsellours of whom you speake can well enforme his Maiesty that that mild execution that then was, did procure much security and establishment to the state, and recalled exceeding many whom your treacherous allurements had alienated and inueighled another way. They found the humours and conditions of men to bee the same that S. Austin of old noted in the Donatistes, and that their proceedings wrought the same effects which he thē acknowledged concerning them. [k] *Some were willing*, saith he, *to come to the vnity of the Catholicke church, being mooued by manifest truth, and yet fearing the offence of their friends did put it off from day to day. Some were bound not by truth but by a hard knot of obdurate custome, in whom the saying of God was fulfilled, A bad seruant will not be amended with wordes: though he doe vnderstand, yet will he not obey. Many thought that part*

[k] *Aug. ep. 48.*

to

to be the true church, because careleſneſſe made them ſlow and ſluggiſh to take knowledge of the Catholicke truth. Many were kept out by the falſe rumours and tales of lying men, who told them that we at the Lords table did vſe ſome ſtrange dealings which we ſhou'd not doe. Many thought it was no matter ſo that they were Chriſtians on what ſide they were, and therefore continued ſuch becauſe they had beene ſo borne and no man forced them to doe otherwiſe. Now the terrour of lawes, in the publiſhing whereof princes ſerue the Lord, hath done this good, that ſome ſay, We were willing to this before, but thankes be to God that hath giuen vs occaſion inſtantly to doe it, and hath cut off all occaſions of delay. Others ſay, We know this to be true before, but we were holden I know not how to that whereto we had beene long accuſtomed, now thankes be to God who hath broken our former bondes and hath tranſlated vs to the bond of peace. Others ſay, We did not know that the truth was on this part, neither did we care to learne the ſame, but feare made vs regardfull to know it whileſt we doubted leaſt wee ſhould ſuſtein leſſe of our goods temporall and be no whit the neerer to things eternall: Thankes be to God who by the ſpurre of feare hath driuen away our neglect, that in care we ſhould ſeeke that which being ſecure we would neuer regard to know. Others ſay, We were by falſe rumours terrified and made afraid to come to church, which we had not knowen to be falſe but by our comming thither, and had not come thither, vnleſſe wee had beene compelled thereunto. Thankes be to God who by the ſcourge hath taken away our feare, and hath taught vs by experience what vaine and falſe tales lying fame hath reported of his church. Others ſay, We thought it skilled not on what part we profeſſed the faith of Chriſt, but thankes be to God who hath gathered vs from ſchiſme, and hath ſhewed vs that it is agreeing to one God that we ſhould in vnity worſhip him. Theſe good effects were wrought by thoſe milde proceedings that were vſed in the daies of Queene Elizabeth, when things ſtanding as they did it was maruell that any good at all ſhould be effected thereby. For you were ſtill buz-

into mens eares the alteration of the state, and by your plots and deuices your confederates expected it from day to day, and thereupon by your promises hoped for preferment & countenance in that new monarchie, euery man at least a calfe with a white face, if they should continue constant and stedfast on your part. This was in their heads vpon euery seuerall treason; very strongly at the Spanish inuasion; but vndoubtedly resolued of whensoeuer the Queenes day should come. By this traiterous baite you gained verie many, and entised many to go beyond the seas, who in hope of a golden harueſt doubted not to endure some small winter stormes. But now that this hope, thanks be to God, is taken away, we doubt not but one seuen yeeres practise and execution of his Maiesties lawes will turne your trade a begging, and make you [l] *Psa. 59. 14. 15* [l] *grinne like dogges, and runne heere and there for meate, and grudge if they be not satisfied.* We doubt not but a number of them will in short time curse and detest your trecherie and villanie, who by your sinister and false tales haue frighted them from dooing that whereto readilie they would haue yeelded otherwise.

You goe forward saying *that it may be that they intend by those penall lawes to inrich his Maiesty and to fill his cofers.* But you are an vnfit man to make construction of their doings, and if that were the thing that his Maiestie respected, he would take with your recusants a quicker and [m] *2. Cor. 12. 14. Augustin. ep. 50.* rounder course. But his Maiesty [m] seeketh not theirs but them, and it is well knowen how hardly his Highnesse hath beene drawen to vse any proceeding at all against them, desirous by patience and mildenesse to win them; and finding that they abuse his patience to fortifie themselues against him, both his Maiestie and his most honourable Counsell, doe beare the minde that both the godly Emperours and Princes, and their faithfull officers togither with the godly Bishops and Pastours of the church, did beare in the execution of their Imperial lawes,

[o] *Whosoeuer*

[n] *Whosoeuer by occasion of this law which the Prince seruing Christ doth publish for the reforming of your impietie, doth couetously desire any goods of yours, we like him not. Whosoeuer by occasion of this law pursueth you, not in loue to amend you, but in hatred to practise enmitie against you, we like him not.* There will be more contentment taken in their conformitie and due obedience, then in all the riches and treasures that can redound to his Maiestie by their contumacie and resistance. As for *stuffing his Maesties cofers with regreets and outcries of the husband, wife, children, widowes and poore infants*, it is an amplification of your witte, without any example: they finde meanes commonly to prouide better for themselues, then to haue any occasion to weepe for that matter. If by careful execution they were brought to that hazard, we should find better order with them then now we doe. Neither should they for their weeping blame the lawes, but themselues, that vpon selfewill and stomacke doe crosse the lawes. And better it is that they should weepe, then that other should be forced to weepe by them: better that they be beggered & vndone, then that by their impunity any danger should grow to the common state: good that some endure extremity that others thereby may be brought [o] *to consider of the matter and finding that there is no cause why they* should forbeare the church *to endure so great losse, may without difficulty returne* to our church againe. In a word let them weepe for losse of goods by iust execution of law who without subiection to the law haue no reason to enioy the same. You say that *the best and most assured treasury of a King doth consist in the loue and harty affection of his people.* Which indeed is true, and therefore doth his Maiestie iustly punish them who do in themselues and labour in others also to defeate him of that treasure; this sort of his people being such as haue bestowed their loue and harty affection otherwise then to him, neither can he presume thereof, as he well knoweth, so long as by mis-conscience of religion they stand so deepely

[n] *Aug. ep. 48.*

[o] *August. ibid.*

deepely obliged to another Lord. Who as he hath their harts, so should haue their purses and goodes also, if opportunity did serue, which therefore most iustly and rightfully should be preoccupated and intercepted to better vse. Further very malapertly and saucily you demand, *Are these penall lawes and forfeitures ordeined for rewards vnto such dependents as for these or the like do follow you?* I answer you againe that these penall lawes and forfeitures are made to the same end to which Constantine made his law as was before said, that [p] the goods of wilfull heretickes refusing to come to the vnitie of the church should be confiscate to the common Treasury, and to which [q] Theodosius made a law that euery hereticall priest or bishop whersoeuer he were found should forfeit [r] *ten pounds*. I answer further by the words of S. Austin, that [s] *it is not to be enquired who haue the goods of heretickes, but who abide in the society of the faithfull.* For as heretickes doe iustlie lose their goods, so whosoeuer haue them by assignment of law or donation of their Prince, they iustly haue them if they continue in the society of the church, because as he saith, *the righteous do receiue the spoiles of the vngodly, and the riches of the wicked are laid vp for the iust.* To be short such penalties and forfeitures together with others are returned to the Exchequer of the Prince, thence at his Maiesties good pleasure iustlie to be disposed, as for other occasions and affaires of his Realme and Princely state, so when occasion requireth for reward to them who by loyall and dutifull seruice deserue the same. As for your other wordes of *heauy aggreeuance* and *hart-bleeding* and *want* and *miserie*, if there were occasion thereof, you were to remember that which the scripture saith, [t] *Affliction giueth vnderstanding, but* [u] *ease slaieth the vnwise and the prosperitie of fooles destroieth them.* And as touching vnthankfulnesse and not minding of benefits receiued, his Maiesty cannot expect the like at the hands of any as of you, whom neither conscience of oathes nor of benefits receiued can so

[p] *August. ep.* 48.
[q] *epist.* 50.
[r] *decem libris auri mulctaretur.*
[s] *ibid.*
[t] *Esa.* 28. 19. *vulg. vers.*
[u] *Prou.* 1. 32.

fast

fast tie vnto him but that you are at any time to be vntied by the dispensation and authority of the Pope.

34. W. Bishop.

And when they shall see no hope of remedy, the state being now setled, and a continuall posterity like to ensue of one nature and condition: God knoweth what that forceable weapon of necessitie may constraine and driue men vnto at length.

R. Abbot.

In this periode M. Bishop thought to shew himselfe a politicke wise man, and contrarie to his expectation all his fellowes condemne him for a foole. They had but one speciall secret amongst them and he hath plaied the part of Tom Tell-troth to reueile it. What, M. Bishop, are you such a blabbe that ye cannot keepe your owne and your fellowes counsell, but must needes out withall? And had ye no other body to whom to discouer it, if ye must needes so doe, but thus bluntly to blunder it to the kinge? But yet be of good cheere, man; let not this discomfort you too much: satisfie your friendes and assure them vpon our worde that we knew your minde before. We knew you were no chaungelings, but what ye haue beene, the same ye continue still, treacherous, falsehearted, faithles, waiting but for time and opportunitie, if power would serue, to compell his Maiestie to your order. *The state now setled*, you say, *and a continuall posterity like to ensue of one nature and condition.* O this is it that greeueth you; this is it that maketh you to gnaw your tongues for anger, and to fare like men at their wits end that know not what way to take. The vnsetledneſſe of the state made you before to hope for a day. The vnsetledneſſe of the state was the common trap wherein you catched men to the deuotion of the Pope. What a trouble is it now to you to crie out, *O spes fallaces: O false and vaine hope?* And now that

there is *no hope of remedy God knoweth*, you say, *what that forcible weapon of necessity may constraine and driue men vnto at length.* False traitour, base fugitiue, doest thou take vpon thee to threaten thy Prince? What? of a preaching Priest haue we now a Herald at armes if he cannot perswade his religion, to denounce war? Is this the Catholicke religion that you commend to vs? Did Peter & Paul deale in that sort to tell princes that if they would not giue them way, *God knoweth what that forcible weapon of necessity might cõstreine & driue men vnto at length?* Was this the language or stile of the first church? But what do I aske you of Peter & Paul, or of the first church? God knowes they are strangers to you and you to them: you loue to talke of them, but little do ye care to be guided by them.

[a] *Tertul. Apologet. cap. 37.* The first church could say to their persecutours: [a] *If we would deale with you not by secret reuenge but by open enmitie, doe we want thereto either number or strength? We are forreiners to you, and yet we haue filled all places of yours, your cities, ilands, castles, boroughs, meeting places, your tents, tribes, bands, palaces, your senate and court. What warre were we not fit for, though vnequall in power, who so willinglie yeeld our selues to be slaine, but that with vs more tolerable it is to be killed then to kill.* And so S. Austin speaketh thereof

[b] *August. de ciuit. Dei, lib. 22. cap 6.* that [b] *the city of Christ albeit it had troupes of mighty peoples, yet did not fight for temporall life, but for the obteining of eternall life it did not resist. Their fighting for life was nothing else but for their Sauiours sake to despise life.* Thus they were able to rescue themselues and their religion, yet no *forcible weapon of necessitie* could moue them to rebell and to take armes against them by whom they were oppressed, and this was then thought to be the proper condition of the faith of Christ. Where we are to note the singular impudencie and impiety of the *traitour-father* Iesuite,

[c] *Bellarm. de Roman. Pont. lib. 5. cap. 7.* who seing the example of the first Christians to be contrarie to their practise now, colourably mentioneth it and by meere falsehood seeketh to avoide and shift it off: [c] *That Christians,*

Christians, saith he, *of old deposed not Nero and Diocletian and Iulian the Apostata and Valens the Arian and such like, the cause was for that they wanted temporall power, and if they had had power they would haue done it*; directly contrary to that which they themselues testifie of themselues, that they had power sufficient, but held it vnlawfull to rebell. And thus here the young Crab goeth according to the gate of the old Crab and telleth his Maiestie that if they can get strength they will perforce winne that that his Maiestie by intreatie will not yeeld, and biddeth him in effect looke for the practise of their rule, that [d] *if Princes goe about to turne away the people from their Romish faith, by all their consents they may and ought to be depriued of their dominions.* [d] *ibid.*

Which as he bid him looke for then, so to shew that hee spake no otherwise then he and his fellowes meant, they haue since practised accordingly, plotting and deuising not to trouble themselues much, but at once and by a verie short course to blow vp and dispatch both Prince and progeny, & Nobles, and Bishops, & Iudges, & Knights, & Burgesses, and a whole court of Parliament, together with all officers, and suiters, and seruants to other courts. O accursed villaines, woorthie whose names should be engrauen in brasse, that all posteritie might take notice of them and for euer abhorre to vse them, euen as the name of Iudas the traitour! nay rather woorthie to be buried in perpetuall obliuion and silence, that it may not be noted as the infamie of this age to haue brought foorth such miscreants, such monsters, such diuels, such an vnnaturall pestilence of their countrey! what tearmes should I vse to expresse the vnconceiueable wickednesse of this vipers brood? Was this the effect of your cor sultatiō at Doway vpon the newes of the proceedings of his Maiesties first Parliament? What were you all so fully possessed with the diuell, as that he should preuaile to draw you to so damnable a practise, to the perpetuall ruine of your natiue countrey? Of those seuen which were specially chosen to

deuise the meanes of your reuenge was there not one in whom was remaining any sparke of nature or grace to detest so barbarous and vnnaturall enterprise? And was this the course that Christians of old tooke when the edicts of Emperours were sent foorth against them, to lay their heads togither to deuise which way to be reuenged? They saide, *Arma nostra sunt preces & lachrymæ: Our weapons are praiers and teares:* but you haue altered their stile, and say, *Our weapons are fire and gunpowder.* They saide to their persecutours,* *One night with a little fire would serue vs largely to be reuenged, if with vs it were lawfull to requite euill with euill: but God forbid that Gods religion should bee mainteined with the fire of men, or that it should grieue to suffer that wherby triall is made of it.* But you say, fire or sword, or whatsoeuer, let vs vse any meanes to be reuenged: we are of the Roman religion, let vs not spare any treason or villanie, or crueltie to mainteine it. O if the Protestants had vsed any such practise in Fraunce, in Spaine or anie where else, what hideous noises and exclamations would these men haue raised thereupon? how would they haue traduced our religion, and laboured to make it hatefull to all the world? howe would they haue bent their force with all extremitie, vtterly to extirpate not onely the persons guiltie, but all that had carried the name of that profession? And yet forsooth they are Catholickes; they are of the onely auncient and true religion. Ah wretched miscreants, who so farre depart from all the example and practise of all antiquitie, and yet goe about to perswade men that they keepe the onely auncient steps, and teach nothing but what the Christian church of old hath taught! But their positions and practises in this behalfe doe shewe their religion to be of the diuell, and not of God. They giue all honest and ingenuous hearts occasion to detest them, and that religion that is the mother and nourse of such diuellish deuises. This hath beene their course these fortie yeeres, and albeit their plottings haue beene so miraculously

* *Tertul. Apologet. ca. 37.*

miraculously discouered and preuented from time to time, as that they haue iust cause to say with the sorcerers of Egypt * *It is the finger of God* that worketh against vs: yet as the diuell howsoeuer he be defeated of his purposes, & see himselfe vnable to preuaile, yet by an infinitie of malice, still bendeth himselfe against God; so these accursed wretches will by no meanes cease from their malicious and desperate villainies, and doe giue the state iust occasion to vse all extremitie for the rooting out of such spirituall masters as drawe his Maiesties subiects to be partakers of such designments. And in this malice they boile still; they fare euen as the Beare that is robbed of her whelpes, they breath out threatnings and slaughter both of Prince and subiects. But their threates we doubt not shall be as [c] *the blast of a storme against a stone wall*, and shall come to nought as hitherto they haue done. God will catche these foxes in their owne wiles and smite the chaw bones of these raging lions and turne the mischiefe that they intend vpon their owne pate. O victorious and triumphant Queene Elizabeth the mirrour of Princely magnanimity & courage, who wast neuer moued therewith to tread one step out of the way; whom neither the curses of Balaam, nor the power of Balak, nor any conspiracies and practises of this vipers broode, this bastard-Catholike generation could euer ouercom to giue the least way to their idolatries and abhominations! O noble kinge Iames the iust inheritour of her crowne and true successour of her fortitude and Princely vertues, who for the obteining of a glorious kingdome couldest neuer be wonne to yeeld thy selfe to be intangled in their snares, but resting thy affiance [f] *in that God who alwaies fauoureth the right*, and in the loialty and fidelity of an ingenuous and noble people hast despised the fawning and pick-thanke offers and incroachings of those land-Sirenes and troden vnder foote all dread and feare of their intended oppositions, to giue glory to the Lord thy God and to keepe thy

* *Exod.* 8. 19.

[c] *Esa.* 25. 4.

[f] βασιλικὸν δῶρον. *lib.* 2. *pag.* 37.

faith entire and vnspotted before him. The Lord thy God shalbe with thee, and our hands with our hearts are lift vp for thee to the God of heauen that he will make good the worke that he hath begunne in thee to stablish the throne of thy kingdome in thy hands in righteousnesse and truth; and to this end to blesse that noble stemme of Princelie grace, and to hide the same as an arrow of choise in the quiuer of his protection that the almond-tree in the death of the stocke may still liue and flourish in the branch vntill the day of the Lord Iesus Christ. As for these murmuring and repining Esauites which long said in their hearts con-

[g] *Gen.* 27. 41. cerning vs, [g] *The daies of mourning for* Queene Elizabeth *will come shortly, and then shall we* haue the *killing and murthering of them*, and cannot yet finde time to disgorge themselues of that malice, let them tast the bitternesse of their owne gall, let them imagine deuises and not performe them till their eies be consumed in their heades. Let their roote be rottennesse and their bud as dust, and let the weapon of their necessitie be gorged in their owne bowels, whilest they intend and plot euill against the Anoin-

[h] *Psal.* 89. 22. ted of the Lord. [h] *Let thy hand, O Lord, hold him fast, and let thine arme strengthen him, that the enemy may not be able to doe him violence, and that the sonne of wickednesse*

[i] *Psa.* 20. 9. *may not hurt him.* [i] *Saue Lord and heare vs, O king of heauen, when we call vpon thee.*

35. W. Bishop.

If then there be no greater reason of waight and momente why such dutifull and well deseruing Subiects, should bee so greeuously afflicted for their conscience. Let others conceiue as they shall please, I will neuer suffer my selfe to be perswaded, that your Maiestie will euer permit it, before I see it done: If it be further obiected, why should not your Maiestie aswell punish Catholickes in your kingdomes, as Catholickes doe Protestants in some other Countries: I answer, that in all Countries where multitudes

multitudes of both sorts are mixed, as it is in England: The Protestants are tolerated, as in France, Polonia, Bohemia, the Catholicke states of Germany, and Cantounes, according to that of the Gospell, Suffer both the wheat & cockle to grow vntill harueſt. *In Spaine, and Italie, where scarse any Protestants be, the case is otherwise. But what is that to England? Where are very many Catholicke recusants, and Catholikely affected in euery degree, not only of the Temporaltie, but in the Clergie also, hardly of the highest degrees of honour to be excepted: therefore for their number and qualitie to bee tolerated.* Matth. 13.

R. Abbot.

His most excellent Maiesty may wel conceiue by your very last wordes before that you are farre off from being *dutiefull and well deseruing subiects*, and therefore iustly taketh course to bring you, if it may be, to that that you in effect confesse, you should be, which you can neuer be so long as mis-persuasion of religion doth hinder true conscience of your duty towards him. But you know well that your petition is liable to iust exception, for that in Italie and Spaine it is thought intolerable that Protestants should be permitted any vse or exercise of their religion, and therefore the like should be conceiued of Papistes amongst vs. To which your distinction of many or few giueth no sufficient answer. For if toleration of contrarie religions be a matter of piety, it holdeth as well for few as for many: and if the words of our Sauiour Christ [a] *suffer both the wheat and the cockle to grow together till harueſt* be to be vnderstood thereof as you would make vs beleeue, they must giue rule as well for small numbers as for great multitudes, and your Pope and other Princes euen by your owne rule do violate Christs commandement in that so furiously they bend themselues against the Protestants in their dominions vtterly to extirpate and roote them out. But they doe that which they doe in debarring the Protestants [a] Matt. 13.30.

stants doctrine vpon a principle which indeede is true, and though misapplied by them against vs, yet iustly and rightly by his Maiesty to be returned against you. For looke what religion is the truth, that alone and only is to be set vp: but what is vntrue and false, that is wholly to be suppressed. It is neither charitie nor piety to giue way to idolatrie and false worship, because it is the dishonor of God, and the poison of the soules of men. Now they thinke that theirs is the onely true religion, and therefore they determine that our religion is not to bee endured. His Maiestie assuredly knoweth that their religion is vntrue, and that the faith which is taught amongst vs, is the onely truth of God, because God himselfe hath taught the same, and by euidence of his owne wordes approoued it; and therefore rightly concludeth that your superstitious and false worships are by all meanes to be abandoned. So Constantine did aduance one only true religion, not your new Romish deuises but the ancient Romane faith, and as you before saide *chased all other religions into corners.* Sith therefore you propound to his Maiesty to follow the example of Constantine you must be contēt that he set vp that only true religion which Constantine did, the auncient Roman religion which S. Paul taught in his epistle to the Romans, and therefore chase as all other so namely your new Romish religion into corners. And herein he followeth the steppes of those godly kings of Iudah, Dauid, Asa, Iehoshaphat, Ezechias, Iosias and the like who are specially recommended in holy scripture, who vpheld one only true worship of God, and admitted no toleration of strange religions, insomuch that

[b] 2. Chro. 15. 16. *Asa deposed Maachah his mother from her regencie, because shee had made her an idoll in a grone, and brake downe her idoll and stamped it vnder his feete and burnt it*, vsing all meanes to shew his detestation of such corruption. His Maiestie well knoweth how seuerely God by his law did forbid the tolerating of any were they neuer so neere or neuer so deere

deere that should [c] *secretly entice* or openly *draw away* from the true seruice of God to the false worship of strange gods. The man or woman that did it was to be [d] stoned to death: the city that admitted any such entisements was [e] vtterlie to be destroied, the inhabitants and their cattell were to be slaine with the sword, the spoile of the city to be burnt in the fire, the houses thereof to be made a heap and neuer to be built againe. How then should his Maiesty beare with your [f] *Ionnes of Belial*, your seminarie priests and Iesuites that they should seduce his subiects and withdraw them to the worship of your new deuised gods, your altar-god *Maozim*; your crucifixe-god, your god-saints, your Capitolian god of Rome, your image-gods of gold and siluer and wood and stone; which indeed you call not gods but yet make them gods by giuing vnto them the worship that belongeth onely vnto God. If by occasion of that law [g] Israel were so icalous for the setting vp of a strange altar beside the altar of the Lord, and with great indignation gathered themselues to warre against their brethren that set it vp, though pacified when they heard the true meaning of it, how should his Maiestie but euen in zeale of the honour of God and for the auoiding of his fearefull wrath prohibite a religion so wholly strange to that which God by his Prophets and Apostles in the law and in the gospell hath commanded vs? And if no toleration be to be approoued of whooredome, drunkennesse, witchcraft, inchauntment, how should there be a toleration of this spirituall [h] whooredome and drunkennesse; these spirituall witchcrafts and sorceries of the whoore of Babylon to whom God hath threatned to [i] *giue the cup of the wine of the fiercenes of his wrath?* As for the place which you alleadge of the *cockle growing with the wheat*; it hath his true vnderstanding of good and bad growing together in *the kingdome of heauen*, that is in the profession of true religion: it giueth no warrant to tolerate any false. Now I need not stand to dispute this matter in policy that the toleration of

[c] *Deut.* 13.6. 13.
[d] *ver.* 9.10.
[e] *ver.* 15.16.
[f] *ver.* 13.
[g] *Iosu* 22.11. 12.
[h] *Apoc.* 17.2.
[i] *cap.* 16.19.

Popery tendeth to the empeachment of his Maiesties imperiall crowne and dignitie, it hauing beene before shewed that the fundamentall grounds thereof are meerely traiterous, and do subiect his Maiestie to be at the deuotion and disposition of another head. Surely in those kingdomes and countries where you, M. Bishop, tell vs that Protestants are tolerated, his Maiestie seeth as in a glasse that if Popery grow to sufficient strength for the managing of it selfe he must either be content to loose the crowne or yeeld to you to make shipwracke of his faith. For howsoeuer Protestantes haue beene there tolerated because for their number they knew not how to suppresse them, and in the tolerating of them they found nothing dangerous or preiudiciall but rather beneficial to their estate, yet the Princes themselues must haue no part in this toleration nor can without resistance and rebellion of the Popish faction enioy their crowns and dignities whatsoeuer right or title they haue, vnlesse they renounce their religion if they be Protestants, and become vassals and seruants to the Pope. The late example whereof in the kingdome of France may be a sufficient caueat to his Maiestie to take order against the growth and increase of your part that by toleration of you the like danger grow not to himselfe or to any of his posteritie after him. As for your number hitherto it is not so great, thankes be to God, as that his Maiesty hath any cause to feare it, or for it to purchase vnto himselfe that certaine danger which of toleration of your Popery ineuitably ensueth: it is more in your account then it is in truth, & that that is is greater in tale thā in strength: and a number haue growen Recusants either vpon false hopes, or of curiosity and nouelty and because they would seeme some-bodie by being singular and different from other men, whom the smart of a rod will easily reclaime and cause them to returne to the church againe. Whereas you alleadge your *Catholickely affected in euerie degree not of the Temporalty only but also of the Clergie, hardly the highest degrees*

grees of honour to be excepted, we see you are willing to grace your selfe though it be but with a lie: you woulde faine haue their company that detest to haue any of yours: it is but one of your accustomed presumptions, and you your selfe haue no confidence of that you say.

36. W. Bishop.

Lastly, if there were no other cause, but the innumerable benefits which euery degree and order of men throughout England, haue, and do daily receiue from our most Catholicke Auncestors: As the constituting of so many holsome lawes; founding of so many honourable, and rich rewards of learning, as Bishoprickes, Cathedrall Churches, Deaneries, Arch-deaconries, Residencies, Prebendes, and Benefices: the erecting, and building, of so goodly Schooles, Colledges, and Hospitals, and endowing of them with so ample possessions, which all proceeded out of the bowels of the true wisedome, pietie, and vertue of their Catholicke religion: Is not this much more then a sufficient motiue why their heires in faith, should be most benignly, and louingly dealt with? and not for the profession of the same Religion, so seuerely afflicted? Let the Protestants in those countries, where they are most molested, appeare and shew, that their predecessors in beleefe, haue beene so beneficiall vnto the publike weale: And I dare vndertake, that for their Auncestors sake, they shall finde much more fauour, then we sue for. Wherefore they can haue no iust cause, to repine at your Maiesties goodnesse, if vpon men of that Religion, which hath beene so beneficiall vnto your whole Realme, you take extraordinary compassion.

R. Abbot.

This argument of yours, M. Bishop, is common to others as well as you, and cannot aduantage you but it must by like reason aduantage them. God brought his

people of Israel into the land of Canaan, and there gaue
[a] *Deu.6.10.11.* them [a] *great and goodly cities which they builded not: houses full of all manner of goods which they filled not; and wels digged which they digged not; vineyards and olive trees which they planted not*, and yet gaue them charge to destroy those nations and to giue no toleration of their abhominations, from whose hands these benefits did redound vnto them. Christian religion hath receiued much benefit & strength from secular and prophane arts and learning, which heathen men haue polished and fitted to our vse. In respect
[b] *August. de doct. Christ. lib. 2. ca.40. Basil. serm. ad adolescentes &c. Origen. in Exod hom. 2.* whereof, the godly fathers of the Church [b] haue much recommended the knowledge of those studies, as verie auaileable to prepare a man to the seruice of the church, which Iulian the Apostata well perceiuing, gaue foorth an edict that [c] Christians should be barred from the vse of Poetrie, and Rhetoricke, and Logicke, and other arts of Philosophie; [d] *for out of our bookes*, said he, *they borrow weapons whereby they fight against our selues*. And yet it is not any sufficient reason to tolerate heathenish superstitions, because they were heathens from whom these helpes of learning haue descended vnto vs. So haue Christian states receiued from the heathen Romanes their *ciuill lawes*, and therefore what should, M. Bishop gaine at our hands if it were confessed, that at the hands of their Auncestours we haue receiued the *constitution of many wholesome lawes*. But indeed they were none of your Auncestors, M. Bishop, from whom wee haue receiued our auncient lawes. For our auncient lawes make the Prince Gods *Vicegerent* in this kingdome, as hath beene before saide. Our auncient lawes and customes of this realme disanulled the enchroaching authoritie of the bishop of Rome,
[c] *Socrat. hist. lib. 3. cap. 10.* [d] *Theodoret. hist. lib. 4. ca.8.*
[e] *Matth. Paris. in Henr. 2.* for resisting of which lawes [e] Thomas Becket was holden for a traitour in the time of king Henry the second, and had it beene by course of law was iustly for that cause put to death. I haue also before declared what difference there is betwixt the religion of old professed, vn-

der

der the protection of the lawes of this realme, and the religion that is now vrged by you, so that the founders of those lawes are not to be accounted of your kinde. Of Bishoprickes and Archbishoprickes I may answere as of lawes I haue done. For when religion first was publickly receiued and established in this land in the time of king Lucius it found heere of heathen institution eight and twentie [f] *flamines* and three *Archiflamines*. The places of the *flamines* the king turned to so many bishoprickes; the places of the *Archiflamines* to so many Archbishoprickes; the one at London translated afterward to Canterburie; the other at Yorke; the third at Caerleon in Wales, where seuen of those bishoprickes with this Archbishoprickes were remaining at the comming of Austin the monke into this land, whereof mention was made before. Here were [g] Temples also builded for the worship of Paynim Gods, of which he made *churches* for the seruice of Iesus Christ. Neither can it be doubted but that there were here schooles and places of learning and rewardes thereof, inasmuch as we finde that there were here learned men the [h] *Druydes* and [i] *Erwydes* for the managing of their Pagan law, which without such opportunities and incouragements could not be. To be short, very little is it that M. Bishop can alleage of benefites deriued to vs from the professours of their now Romish religion, which the Pagans also might not alleage to haue beene before deriued from them to the maintenance and vse of Christian faith. And if that were no reason to tolerate those impieties to which those benefites were first intended by the Pagans, then M. Bishop must first iustifie his religion to be the truth before he can iustly require any toleration of it or those commodities that were assigned to the vse thereof. But that our bishoprickes and Archbishoprickes, our cathedrall churches and churchliuings & other benefites of learning in the first Christian vse of them had no intendment of the Romish religion that now is, but serued

[f] *Holinshed hist. of England.*

[g] *ibid.*

[h] *Holinsh. descript. of Britaine.*

[i] *Annal. of John Stow in Lucius.*

indeed for the maintenance of the religion that is now taught by vs, I haue before sufficiently declared, and neede not here to repeate, neither would M. Bishop haue heere spoken thereof againe but that it seemeth his heart was stronglie possessed with some longing desire to haue some part in these preferments. Which if you haue, M. Bishop, I would wish you to reforme your opinions, to embrace that truth which you are not able to oppugne; to renounce all iurisdiction of forreine power, and to acknowledge to your Prince that soueraignte which by the word of God, by the auncient lawes of this realme, and by examples of auncient emperours and princes, is iustly due vnto him, and you need not doubt but that his Maiestie will graciously regard in good and conuenient sort to satisfie your desire. As for your *daring to vndertake that the Protestants in those countries where they are most molested, shall finde more fauour then you sue for, if they can shew that their predecessours in beleefe haue beene so beneficial to the publicke weale*, we hold it a feigned liberalitie fondly presumed vpon other mens curtesie, and you a very sillie man to vndertake so great a matter. The case hath beene with other countries as it hath beene with vs; howsoeuer Poperie haue since vsurped and abused all things, the auncient emploiment of those ecclesiasticall benefits which you speake of, was to the aduauncement of that religion which was deliuered by the Scriptures, and from thence taught by the auncient pastours and fathers of the church, which partly appeareth already, and in the examining of your booke shall appeare further to be the selfe-same that the church of England now professeth and mainteineth, not that which you would vrge vpon vs by the pretended authoritie of the church of Rome.

37. W. Bishop.

It lying then in your Maiesties free choise and election, whether

whether you will enlarge and extend your Royall fauour, vnto an infinite number of your most dutifull and affectionate Subiects, who are the most vnwilling in the world to transgresse any one of your lawes, were they not thereunto compelled by the law of God: or else vtterly to begger and to vndoe, both them, and theirs, for their constant profession of the Auncient Roman faith. My confidence in the sweet prouidence of the Almightie is, that he will mercifully incline your Royall heart, to choose rather to pardon, then to punish; becaufe the way of mercie, consorteth better with your kinde and tender nature: it is of better assurance to continue your peaceable & prosperous raigne: it will purchase mercie at Gods hands, according to his owne promise, Blessed be the mercifull, for they shall obtaine mercie.

R. Abbot.

The ground of your request of fauour is but *petitio principij*, a begging of the point in question, or rather a wilfull presumption of the trueth of that which without question is false. You say you *are compelled by the lawe of God to transgresse your princes law*, in refusing to conforme your selues to the religion commaunded thereby. But where is that law of God? Shew vs in the old or new Testament any law or word of God that may giue your Recusants any shew of reason why they should denie to come to church. Who is there amongst them all that either can or doth alleage out of the law of God anie thing to that purpose? No, no, you by your wiles are become to them the law of God: you keepe from them the [a] *key of knowledge:* you conceale from them the lawe of God, and fright them from medling with the holy scriptures, and vpon the aduantage of their ignorance you entangle them with your lewde and vngodly deuises, which falsly and wickedly you entitle *the law of God.* It is the law of Antichrist, the law of [b] the man of sinne, the childe of perdition, that keepeth them from assembling themselues with

[a] *Luc.* 11. 52.

[b] 2. *Thess.* 2. 3.

with the church of God, that they may be partakers with him of the same destruction. And so you likewise delude them as touching *the profession of the auncient Romane faith*, whereas in their profession there is nothing like to that faith which the Apostle hath comprised in his epistle to the Romans. Ah caytifes, ah miscreants [c] *would to God yee were euen cut off that thus trouble* the people of God, [d] *eating them vp like bread* by making your commoditie of them! The mercy that should be shewed to you is the same that Elias shewed to the [e] Priests of Baal to cut you off that you may no further encrease your sinne by causing the Lordes people to trespasse against him. As for those that are thus seduced by you, his Maiesty doth intend vnto them the mercy of God, though not that mercy that you require, yet the mercy that Saint Iude commendeth, [f] *to saue them by terrour and feare pulling them by force out off the fire.* It is rightly and truely noted by Saint Austin that there is [g] *a cruelty sometimes in sparing, and a mercy sometimes in punishing.* It is a worke of mercy which our Saiiour commaundeth in the Gospell; [h] *Compell them to come in that my house may be filled.* [i] *If men were dwelling in a house,* saith Saint Austin, *which we certainly knew would fall, and they would not beleeue vs when we should tell them so, but would continue in the same still, were we not to be adiudged cruell and vncharitable men if hauing it in our power we should forbeare to pull them out? And if being many some of them be headstrong and wilinceds destroy themselues, is it not mercy yet to saue some or any one of them?* This is the mercy that his Maiesty performeth to your Recusants that seing them to consort themselues with Antichrist and thereby to procure their owne destruction, he may by violence draw them from vnder the pawes of the Lion, and if not all, yet so many as to whom God shall blesse the meanes and endeauour that he shall vse for them, knowing [k] *that medicine is not to be neglected though some be taken with a pestilence that is incurable.* And in this doing his

[c] *Gal.* 5. 12.
[d] *Psal.* 14. 8.
[e] 1. *King.* 18. 40.
[f] *Iud. epist. ver.* 23.
[g] *August. epist.* 54.
[h] *Luc.* 14. 23.
[i] *August. ep.* 50.
[k] *epist.* 48.

his Maiestie may looke for mercie, because he sheweth mercy, according to the words of Christ, [l] *Blessed be the mercifull, for they shall obteine mercy*; whereas he should be accounted merciles and cruell if [m] *he should suffer frantike men to runne headlong and to destroy themselues.* Let the medicine be sharpe, so that it may worke a cure: let the law beggar many wilfull persons to the world, that some at least may thereby be enriched towards God. As for your termes of *dutifull and affectionat subiects*, we haue seene before that they are wordes of hypocrisie and no truth, and that men of your deuotion cannot possibly be duely affected to their Prince. And whereas you vse wordes of *better assurance to continue his Maiesties peaceable and prosperous raigne*, the trueth is, whatsoeuer you pretend, that if his Maiestie be mercifull to you in that sort as you desire, he must shew himselfe cruell and mercilesse to himselfe, neither can he expect a peaceable and prosperous raigne, if once you grow to that strength, that he may receiue a checke from you. Let the adder freese without doores: if he be harboured and warmed at the fire, he will sting him that hath entertained him, and then it will be but a matter of floute, [n] *aluistis incendium quo nunc ardetis: yee haue fedde the fire your selfe; be content now to be burned in it.*

[l] *Matt. 5. 7.*

[m] *August. epist. 48.*

[n] *Liuy Decad.*

38. W. Bishop.

I need not adde what a Consolation, and comfort it will be, to many score thousands of your subiects, and the greatest obligation that can be deuised, to binde them to you, and yours for euer: Now what applause, and congratulation from forren Catholicke countries, would follow this your famous Fact. Vndoubtedly all the glorious companie of Kings and Queens (now in heauen) of whom you are lineally descended: and among all the rest, namelie, your most sacred and deare Mother, that endured so much for her constancie in the same Catholicke faith, cannot but take it most kindly, if for God and their sakes, you take into your Princely protection their followers in the Roman faith, and defend them from oppression.

R. Abbot.

No scores of thousands, M. Bishop, to whom it will be a comfort, but hundreds of thousands to whom it will be a discomfort to see harbour giuen to the vipers brood to eate out the bowels of their owne mother. And as for *obligation to binde them to his Maiestie and his for euer*, it is euident by the principles that haue beene before laied downe, that there is no obligation whereby his Maiestie may be secure of them, nor any bond whereby they may be so tied to him, but that they are alwaies to be readier to another to whom they are tied with a faster bond. You promise great *applause and congratulation from forraine Catholicke countries*, but his Maiestie findeth farre greater comfort in the cleerenesse of his owne conscience, entirelie aduaunceing the true seruice of God, and in the congratulations of the truely faithfull, both of his owne subiects within his dominions, and many Princes and thousands of people in other countries; who are farre mo, reioicing to see his Maiesties resolution and constancie in the truth, then there will be to take knowledge, as of a fauour done to them by his Maiesties relenting and declining therefrom. And of your Catholicke princes it may be there are some, who would gratulate themselues if they might attaine to that kingly soueraigntie which his Maiestie by true religon doth enioy, which because they cannot, they would be glad for companies sake to see him encline to your request, in hope to haue him brought to the like seruitude and bondage as they are in. Which howsoeuer it be to you *a famous fact*, yet in truth is so infamous and dishonourable as that there is little cause for you to hope that his Maiesty should euer yeeld to the doing of it. As for *Kings and Queenes in heauen taking kindly the doing of* that which you desire; his Maiesty will beleeue it when you shew him warrant that they haue made you the interpreter of their mind, or deliuered you any such message to doe vnto him. Which if you doe not, he knoweth

eth well inough that these are but idle words of your too lish Rhetoricke and far from any force to serue your turne. But whereas you make mention of his Maiesties mother; if there were no other cause yet the very remembrance of her might be sufficient to make him detest you all to the pitte of hell; by whose seducements and promises, and continuall practises and prouocations she was brought to that wofull and vnprincely fall, euen as to your villany was to bee imputed the losse of the bloud of so many nobles and gentlemen that was shed in the daies of Queene Elizabeth, of whom many (had they been free from your entrapments) had lined good subiects vntill this day. The same must we say of them who since his Highnesse comming to the crowne, and specially of late haue beene intangled in your nets to the vtter confusion and ouerthrow both of them and theirs. So that not onely his Maiesty hath cause to hate you but also all they that haue had any interest in any of that bloud, yea this whole state which by you hath beene bereaued of so many speciall members that might haue done great seruice and helpe vnto it.

39. W. Bishop.

Thus most humblie crauing pardon of your Highnesse, if I haue in any thing exceeded the limits of my bounden duty, I beseech our blessed Sauiour to endue you, both with the true knowledge of his diuine verity, and with the spirit of Fortitude, to embrace and defend it constantly; or that at the least, gratiously to tolerate and permit it.

Your most Excellent Maiesties, most obedient, and loyall subiect, and seruant. *W. B.*

R. Abbot.

Indeed M. Bishop iust cause there is that you should aske pardon of his Maiesty for exceeding the limits of your bounden dutie, not for the length of your epistle but

some matter of it. If vpon aduertisement and further examination of that that you haue written you do not aske his Maiesty pardon and submit your selfe to his mercy, you shew your selfe to be a lewd and a naughty man. You haue written to his Maiestie that which you are not able to iustifie; or if you can iustifie it, let it appeare and I will craue pardon of his Maiesty to ioine with you. But because you cannot, and so indeed I auouch that you cannot, therefore as touching your praier I answer you with Tertullians words; [a] *Esto religiosus in Deum, qui vis illum Imperatori propitium: You that will pray to God for his goodnesse towards your Prince, bee first your selfe truely religious towards God.* God regardeth none of your praiers as now you pray: your Prince can expect no true praiers from you, because you haue no true affection towards him. You haue sought to delude his Maiesty with lies and falshood, to perswade him that that is the *diuine verity* which indeed is your heresie. You haue alleadged no one thing wherein you haue not plaied the cozener and either wrested it to that to which it was neuer meant, or concealed that that should serue to rectifie the meaning of it, and therefore haue not shewed your selfe *his most excellent Maiesties most loyall subiect* as you vnderwrite your selfe. And how should his Maiesty expect to haue you loyall and true to him, whom he seeth thus vntrue and false to God. In a word you are one of them whom Saint Austin describeth [b] *who impudently resolue not to care what you say, saue howsoeuer to contrarie that that we say.* God open your eies to see your owne folly and giue you an humble hart to yeeld to him.

[a] *Tertul. Apologet. cap. 34.*

[b] *August. de ciu. Dei, lib. 2. ca. 1.*

Some few faults escaped I pray thee gentle Reader to correct thus.

Pag. 12. l. 22. Meditation, read mediation. p. 14. l. 17. How, r. Heere. p. 18. l. 30. affection r. affectation. p. 62. l. 16. Of Rome, r. of Aegypt and Rome. l. 17. put out and Aegypt. p. 89. l. 7. in craning r. is craning. p. 104 l. 10. faithfull r. fearefull. p. 118. l. 19. r. Canonicall discipline. p. ibid. l. 21. r. condescending to their. p. 142. l. 14. sinne r. swine. p. 184. l. 26. r. of their forgiuing. p. 222. l. 18. if they, r. that ye.